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ABSTRACT

Designed to assist secondary school social studies, English, and humanities teachers as they teach about the Nazi Holocaust, the first of two volumes serves as an introduction to the concept of human rights. Divided into a rationale and two units, each unit includes a statement of purpose, a list of objectives, and a group of learning activities and student materials. Because the guide is not a textbook, but rather a collection of materials and activites about the Holocaust and other examples of genocide, the learning activites are not arranged in a developmental order and may be taught in any sequence. A chart presenting a model for a two-week course of study provides lesson topics objectives, and questions. Following a rationale for studying about the Nazi Holocaust and genocide, Unit I deals with the roots of intolerance and persecution, denial of reality, indifference, prejudicial attitudes, conformity, and obedience to authority. Unit II, "Precursors of the Holocaust," focuses on genocidal theories, pseudoscientific racism, technological aspects of genocide, and a case study explaining the plight of the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire during the deportation of 1915 to 1916. Handouts are included and guidelines for helping teachers deal with sensitive topics, design lessons, and select those readings which best fit his or her course or program are provided. (LH)

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TEACHING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST AND GENOCIDE INTRODUCTION

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SERIES
Volume I

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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Foreword

This teacher's guide is designed to assist secondary school social studies, English and humanities teachers as they teach about the Nazi Holocaust. This guide serves as an introduction to the concept of human rights. At the same time, it aims to develop among students a reflectiveness about the significance of these events so that, ultimately, students might act with greater humanity toward one another.

Education represents the most effective weapon in guarding against future violations of human rights. The words of Regent Emeritus Louis E. Yavner provide further support for a systematic approach to studying about the Holocaust.

> "The Holocaust scars history as one of the greatest horrors of human existence. The human record carried, to our shame, other major atrocities and violations of human rights."
>
> "These horrors are real and poignant to those who have had direct experience or knowledge of them. They have little meaning to each new generation unless there is effective education about them."

Study about the Holocaust raises a number of important questions about the nature of human behavior.

- What does the Holocaust tell us about our conceptions of what constitutes civilized or rational human beings?
- What does the Holocaust suggest about the notion of "progress" as it applies to medicine, law, and technology?
- What can we learn about the roles of organized religion from the Holocaust experience?
- How can we confront the moral and philosophical dilemmas posed by the Holocaust?
- What can we do to prevent violations of human rights in the future?

As students read the materials and as they complete the activities included in this guide, they should begin to develop answers to these questions. This guide also proposes to assist teachers as they plan their own lessons about the evils of the Holocaust as well as about those triumphs of the human spirit which responded to these evils against all odds.

In preparing this guide, the writers and consultants made careful decisions regarding which readings to include and which to leave out. These decisions were made after a review of the historical information available and were based upon the following considerations:

- The appropriateness of materials and readings for the selected student audience.
- The need to include a variety of materials, readings and student activities in order to account for diverse student learning styles and interests.
- The need to present an accurate historical account of the major events of the Nazi Holocaust and the deportations and massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during World War I.
- The need to provide information about the positive actions that individuals and groups took to counter the evils associated with acts of genocide.

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How to Use This Guide

This teacher's guide is divided into a Rationale and 4 separate Units. Each Unit includes a statement of purpose, a list of objectives, and a group of learning activities and student materials. Each activity is marked by a bullet (•) symbol. The learning activities are not arranged in a developmental order so that they may be taught in any order. Teachers should begin by reviewing the entire guide before they plan their units of study. Teachers can design lessons by using those activities and materials most appropriate for their students.

Because of the sensitivity of the materials, teachers should select readings and classroom activities with great care. The handouts included in each Unit should be fully explained to students so that they understand the purpose of each handout. Teachers should also recognize the need for students to reflect upon each lesson. If possible, students should be allowed time after class to talk about their thoughts and feelings and to discuss the lesson informally. Students may also be asked to keep a journal in which they express their feelings and reactions on a daily or weekly basis.

Before using this guide teachers should read through the entire publication and select those readings and activities which best fit his/her course or program. Please remember that this guide is *not* a textbook but rather a collection of materials and activities about the Nazi Holocaust and other examples of genocide.

The following chart presents a model for planning a two-week course of study on the Holocaust and genocide. Teachers should select specific readings and activities based upon the objectives and questions listed in the chart.

MODEL FOR A TWO-WEEK COURSE OF STUDY

Lesson Number	Topic From the Guide	Objectives	Questions
Lesson 1	*Rationale*	• Students will raise and consider key questions regarding the Holocaust and genocide;	– What are some reasons for studying the Holocaust? – What questions does the Holocaust raise about the human condition? – What distinguishes the Holocaust from previous mass persecutions or murders?
Lesson 2	*Roots of Intolerance and Persecution*		
	A. Denial of Reality	• Students will explain that the awareness of an evil reality is the first step toward personal or group survival;	– What are the dangers of denying reality?
	C. Prejudicial Attitudes	• Students will analyze the ways in which prejudice dehumanizes its victims;	– In what aways does prejudice affect both the victim and the perpetrator?
	E. Obedience to Authority	• Students will recognize the process by which people are highly conditioned to accept authority;	– Why do some people feel the results of the Milgram experiment are very frightening?
Lesson 3	*Precursors of the Holocaust*		
	A. Genocidal Theories	• Students will understand what the term "genocide" means;	– What does the term "genocide" mean?
	D. Case Study: The Armenians	• Students will understand the facts of a particular case study;	– What factors resulted in the deportations and massacres of the Armenians in 1915-1916?

Lesson Number	Topic From the Guide	Objectives	Questions
Lesson 4	*The Nazi Holocaust* A. Anti-Semitism – Traditional, Religious, and Racial	• Students will understand the traditional, religious, and racial aspects of anti-Semitism;	– What seems to be the sources of anti-Semitism?
Lesson 5	B. Nazi Thought	• Students will examine the effects of Nazi thought on Nazi policies;	– What were the effects of Nazi thought on the lives of the people of the Third Reich?
Lesson 6	C. Nazi Rise to Power	• Students will explain why post-World War I Germany provided fertile ground for the Nazi Movement;	– What factors accounted for the rise of the Nazi Party?
Lesson 7	D. The Final Solution	• Students will analyze the functions and purposes of the various Nazi concentration and death camps;	– How did the Nazis plan to carry out the "Final Solution"?
Lesson 8	E. Perpetrators and Victims	• Students will empathize with those caught up in the plight of the Nazi Holocaust; • Students will investigate the effects of the Holocaust on its perpetrators and its victims;	– What similarities and differences were there in the reactions of the perpetrators and victims of the Holocaust?
Lessom 9	F. Responses by Individuals, Institutions, and Nations	• Students will examine and explain some individual, institutional, and national responses to the Holocaust; • Students will gain insights into their own attitudes and the attitudes of others regarding the Holocaust;	– Why did the Holocaust not produce universal condemnation and/or action?
Lesson 10	*Implications for Our Future* C. Connections	• Students will begin to make connections between their study of the Holocaust and issues in their lives today;	– What lessons can we learn from the Holocaust that are useful for us today?

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Topical Outline for the Human Rights Series

- **Studying About the Holocaust and Genocide: A Rationale**

- **The Roots of Intolerance and Persecution**
  - Denial of Reality
  - Indifference
  - Prejudicial Attitudes
  - Conformity
  - Obedience to Authority

- **Precursors of the Holocaust**
  - Genocidal Theories
  - Pseudoscientific Racism
  - Technological Aspects of Genocide
  - Case Study: The Armenians

- **The Nazi Holocaust**
  - Anti-Semitism – Traditional, Religious, and Racial
  - Nazi Thought
  - Nazi Rise to Power
  - "The Final Solution"
  - Perpetrators and Victims
  - Responses by Individuals, Institutions, and Nations
  - Judgment, Justice, and Survivors

- **Implications for Our Future**
  - Individual Choices
  - Group Choices
  - Connections

- **Case Studies: Persecution/Genocide**
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Studying About the Holocaust and Genocide: A Rationale

Statement of Purpose:

This section provides a rationale for studying about the Holocaust and genocide. Students need to understand why they should study and reflect upon the events of the past. They need to place the Holocaust in historic perspective and make valid connections between the past and the present.

Objectives

- Students will raise and consider key questions regarding the Holocaust and genocide;
- Students will draw preliminary conclusions regarding the many questions concerning people and nations raised by the Nazi Holocaust;
- Students will investigate the significant moral and ethical challenges presented by this study;
- Students will gain insights into their own attitudes and the attitudes of others regarding the Holocaust;
- Students will empathize with those caught up in the plight of the Nazi Holocaust.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Have students read *Is It Necessary to Remember?* taken from: Milton Meltzer, *Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust* (Harper and Row, 1976). In a full class discussion, make the following points.
  - Some people feel that "it is better to bury the bitter past." This article stresses the necessity to remember. What reasons are given for the study of the Holocaust in this article?
  - Are some of the reasons more important to you than others? Why?
  - Why do events that occurred in the first half of the twentieth century affect us today?
  - What questions does the Holocaust raise about the human condition?

IS IT NECESSARY TO REMEMBER?

Milton Meltzer

The Holocaust was one of the innumerable crimes committed by the Nazis. Then why single out the extermination of the Jews? Is it necessary to remember? Is it good? Can it even be understood by those who have come after?

No one would claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews was greater or more tragic than what has been done to other persecuted peoples. Such comparisons are unfeeling and fruitless. What is historically significant is its uniqueness. There is no precedent for it in Jewish history. Nor in the history of other people.

Civilians in the past have been massacred for what men called "reasonable" goals, utilitarian goals to extend power, to acquire wealth, to increase territory, to stamp out opposition, to force conversion. What some power conceived to be in its self-interest was the reason behind the persecution.

But Hitler and the Nazis wanted to murder all Jews because they were Jews. Not because of their faith, not despite their faith. But because of what Hitler called their "race." He did not believe this "inferior" people had any right to share the earth with their "superiors," the Germans. So Jews, religious and unreligious, were exterminated. They were killed even when their deaths proved harmful, militarily or economically, to the Nazis. It was a crime against all humanity, committed upon the body of the Jewish people. That the Jews were the victim this time derives from the long history of anti-Semitism.

How could it have happened?

It did not occur in a vacuum. It was the logical outcome of certain conditions of life. Given the antihuman nature of Nazi beliefs, the crime of the Holocaust could be expected. We see that now. That it happened once, unbelievable as it seems, means it could happen again. Hitler made it a possibility for anyone. Neither the Jews nor any other group on earth can feel safe from that crime in the future.

I do not believe that the world of Hitler was totally alien to the world we know. Still, before we can compare Hitler's Germany to anything else, we need to find out what it was like and how it came to be. And just as important, we need to expand our knowledge of our own human nature to understand why people were infected by Nazism, how the poison spread, and what its effects were. The question has to do with good and evil,

Excerpts from pp. xv-xvi, in *Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust* by Milton Meltzer. Copyright (c) 1976 by Milton Meltzer. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

with our inner being, with our power to make moral choices.

- Have students read: *A Horror Erased From Memory.* Chicago *Sun-Times,* April 11, 1976.

  This newspaper article, about the selection of a jury panel in Milwaukee in 1976, shows that 30 years later many adults were unaware of the events and ideology of the Nazi era.

  Before asking students to study this article, have them respond to the same kind of questions posed by the reporter, Roger Simon:

  – Who were the Nazis? What did they stand for?
  – When did they take control in Germany?
  – Who was Adolf Hitler?
  – Who was responsible for the destruction of millions of Jews, Poles, Gypsies, and other groups during World War II?

Have small groups of students compare their responses to those made by people interviewed in the article. Ask them to speculate on how people in their community or neighborhood might respond to these questions. Students might design a questionnaire for use in the school to determine student and teacher awareness of the Nazi Holocaust. Ask students to tell why it is important that people not forget this tragic event.

A HORROR ERASED FROM MEMORY

Roger Simon

MILWAUKEE – Some months ago, two members of the Milwaukee chapter of the Nazi party (the National Socialist White People's Party) smashed the windows of an auto while the owner – a Jew – sat inside.

They were arrested and a short while ago went on trial. Everyone connected with the trial thought that choosing a jury of 12 men and women who were not disgusted by the term Nazi would be very difficult.

Bruce C. O'Neill, the lawyer for the two Nazis, felt that it would be almost impossible to find a jury that wasn't prejudiced. After all, World War II had ended less than a generation ago.

"I thought that people would associate the word Nazi with concentration camps and the killing of Jews," O'Neill said on the phone. "I was very surprised. No, I was shocked."

O'Neill was shocked because after questioning 23 randomly-selected, average citizens, all middle-aged and alive during World War II, this is what he found:

- Virtually none of the prospective jurors knew anything about Nazism.
- They did not associate Nazism with World War II.
- They did not associate Nazism with Adolf Hitler.
- They did not associate Nazism with racial hatred, concentration camps, or the killing of 6 million Jews.

David B. Offer, a reporter for a Milwaukee newspaper, quoted the following comments by some of the prospective jurors:

One woman said she knew that Nazism was a dictatorship, but that she "really couldn't say more about it."

"Nazi means communist," another said.

"I have heard of Nazis but I don't listen to the news that much," said another.

O'Neill and the judge, Patrick J. Madden, were stunned. "It just didn't mean anything to them," Judge Madden told me. "The word Nazi and what Nazism stood for was virtually unknown to them."

Oddly enough, a Nazi had just run in a primary election for mayor of Milwaukee. The newspapers were full of stories about him. He lost the primary, but he got nearly 5,000 votes.

The man who brought the charges against the two Nazis, Milton Kleinberg, was not at all surprised that the jury knew nothing about Nazis.

"A Jewish organization had a booth at the state fair last year," he said. "They had a questionnaire about Nazism. Among young people, 95 percent had never heard of it. Among older people, many of whom were veterans of World War II, 60 percent did not associate Nazism with concentration camps or the killing of Jews."

Even though O'Neill was defending the two Nazis, he does not defend or support Nazism. "I was so amazed at the answers by the jurors that I finally just asked a woman if she had ever heard of Adolf Hitler," O'Neill said. "She said that the name sounded familiar, but she couldn't say for sure who he was."

The prospective jurors were not lying in order to sneak on the jury and let the two Nazis go. After a two-day trial, the Nazis were found guilty.

"I consider the ignorance about Nazism to be very serious," O'Neill said. "All I can say is God help us all. God help us all."

"It was very frightening to hear those replies," Judge Madden said. "Very frightening. I don't know who said it, but if you don't know history, you are doomed to repeat it."

It was just a little more than 30 years ago that World War II ended. In it, 6 million Jews were incinerated by Nazis. Nearly 300,000 Americans of all religions, of all races, from all states died in battle.

Does anyone remember what they died for? Does anyone remember what they fought?

To dwell in the past is foolish. To forget the past is a disgrace.

- Have students read: *Recalling the Holocaust.*

(c) Chicago *Sun Times.* 1976. Column by Roger Simon. Reprinted with permission.

This reader comment on the lessons of the Holocaust focuses on the reasons for commemorating the destruction of millions of Jewish, Slavic, Gypsy, and other people of Europe during World War II. After students have read the article, ask them to answer the following questions:

1. How does the author distinguish between the terms "Holocaust" and "genocide"?
2. What distinguishes the Holocaust from previous mass persecutions or murders?
3. Why does the author state that the Holocaust "is the tragedy of all mankind"?

RECALLING THE HOLOCAUST

Matthew J. Jasen

We commemorate the Holocaust in order to learn how people ought to behave toward each other and how they ought not to behave. Never in the history of mankind were so many innocent men, women, and children singled out for persecution and destruction by one group—the Nazi War Lords.

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The evidences of some of these atrocities I saw at Dachau. I am still shocked by what I saw during my visit to this shameful place shortly after its liberation. To me, the Holocaust was one of the most shameful crimes since man walked this earth.

Though the events preceding and accompanying World War II have, in their wake, caused the death of millions of men, women, and children, two main groups were singled out for persecution and destruction by the Nazis and their supporters the Slavic and Jewish races: that is, the complete extermination of the Jewish race and the decimation of the Slavic race by 30 million.

But the years of the Holocaust were not the first in which humans have been killed in large numbers because of race or religion; in modern times the American Indians and Armenians come readily to mind. Awareness of these exterminations darkens the horror of the Holocaust, because they show that the Nazi terror was not an unprecedented and solitary aberration, except for the magnitude, but a human phenomenon which had appeared before and, therefore, might occur again.

The horror of the Holocaust must be remembered because it can happen again. Implicit in this reminder is another: What happened to one people can happen to any. The Holocaust was and remains a tragedy of universal implication, and one whose warnings we ignore at our peril.

There is another reason to commemorate the Holocaust. More than half of all who are now alive were born after the end of World War II. Many, if not most, of the new generation have little or no information about the magnitude of these crimes against humanity. It is important that they know of this dark period in human history and try to understand what had occurred.

The criminal activity of the SS the group primarily responsible for carrying out genocide against the Jews and Slavs culminated in murders on an unprecedented scale in our recorded history. The effect of the release of these destructive forces can best be understood when one reads a speech given by the head of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, to his Gruppenfuehrers in Poznan in Occupied Poland on Oct. 4, 1943. He said, in part:

"Our basic principal must be the absolute rule for the SS man: We must be honest, decent, loyal, and comradely to members of our own blood and to nobody else. What happens to a Jew, Pole, Russian, Czech, or any other Slav does not interest me in the slightest. What the nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type we will take, if necessary by kidnapping their children and raising them with us. Whether nations live in prosperity or starve to death interests me only in so far as we need them as slaves for our kultur; otherwise it is of no interest to me. We can be indifferent to everything else. I wish the SS to adopt this attitude to the problem of all foreign non-Germanic peoples, especially the Slavs."

How much more need be cited from the official documents received in evidence at the Nuremberg trial to show beyond any doubt that the Nazis had an overall conscious aim and goal which was to gain power and complete control first over the German people, then over Europe, and finally, over the world? Coupled with this major aim was the decision and determination to destroy everything that stood in the way of the realization of that aim.

Words pale before the frightening spectacle of human evil unleashed upon the world and before the awesomeness of the suffering involved. But we must strive to understand what happened during this reign of terror; we must teach the lessons of the Holocaust; and, most of all, we ourselves must remember.

What is the lesson we should learn from this Holocaust? That it should not happen again? Of course! But how can we prevent such a tragedy befalling any group, race or nation?

Perhaps we ought to remember that democracies do not become Nazi-type countries in one day. Evil progresses cunningly. One by one, freedoms are suppressed—first against one group, then another by the method of divide and conquer. History teaches us that the groups that are not immediately affected stay aloof from what is happening to others. They say that it does not

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Taken from: Matthew J. Jasen. "Recalling the Holocaust," Buffalo *Courier Express*, Friday, January 1, 1982. Reprinted with permission of Cowles Media Company, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. Jasen is senior associate judge of the New York State Court of Appeals. The article was excerpted from a talk delivered at the St. Stanislaus Social Center.

concern them until it is their turn to be affected. Then they say, "Save us from this tyrant." But who will listen?

It is necessary to recognize the threat to our freedoms and to intervene before it is too late. We must be alert from the very beginning when any group's basic rights are denied them, and sound the alarm to warn of the peril and danger in allowing criminal conduct to continue.

The Holocaust is all too often left only to Jews and Slavic people to remember and to commemorate. Yet, the Holocaust is not merely a Jewish or Slavic tradegy, as great as that tradegy was. It is the tragedy of all mankind.

Consequently, the Holocaust must not gradually become the exclusive concern of one or two people, but must be considered a part of the history of all people. "Never again," must become the motto of all mankind. The conscience of the world must be constantly reminded of the Holocaust and other similar events so that genocide and other serious human deprivations may be prevented in the future.

It must be remembered that what is at stake is the very preservation of humanity and the thin veneer of its civilization.

We should pledge, in the spirit of universal humanism, to advance respect for and to observe the basic human rights for all peoples of the world. By so doing, we show our determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of crimes against humanity.

- Have students read the following article by Yehuda Bauer and respond to the following questions:

– How was the Jew defined in Nazi Germany?
– What were the Nazi plans for the Slavs?
– How does Bauer differentiate between genocide and Holocaust?

AGAINST MYSTIFICATION

Yehuda Bauer

The term Holocaust, as Gerd Korman pointed out in an article some years ago,[5] came into use in the English language to describe what happened to European Jews only some years after the end of World War II, between 1957 and 1959. The feeling was widespread that what had happened to the Jews was in some way unique, or unprecedented or, as Roy Eckardt put it, "uniquely unique."[6] Yet here we are faced with a very real problem: if what happened to the Jews was unique, then it took place outside of history, and it becomes a mysterious event, an upside-down miracle, so to speak, an event of religious significance in the sense that it is not man-made as that term is normally understood. On the other hand, if it is not unique at all, then where are the parallels or the precedents?

In order to avoid mystification, we must therefore probe the historical background. The uniqueness of the position of Jews in the Nazi world was that they had been singled out for total destruction. Not because of their views or their religion, their age or their sex, but simply because they had been born of three Jewish grandparents. In other words, for the first time in history a sentence of death had been pronounced on anyone guilty of having been born, and born of certain parents. The only way of avoiding that death sentence was not to have been born of three Jewish grandparents—a patent absurdity. This Nazi decision was based on an ideology in which the Jew was defined as the anti-race, or in other words as that mixture of characteristics that could be described, in Nazi terms, as an absolute evil. Leaning very heavily on Christian theology, but twisting it in accordance with their own ideas, the Nazis made the Jew the Satan to their Christ, who was Hitler.[7] The Jew was the personification of evil, and thus not human at all. He only appeared human, and when the Nazis had to describe what the Jew was in their eyes, they borrowed terms from the insect world that aroused feelings of disgust – cockroaches, parasites – or from the microbe world – viruses, and so on.[8] The Jew then was both a devil and a parasite. The devilish quality of the Jew expressed itself in his desire to rule the world and to destroy the healthy, Nordic races by biological and cultural corruption. Just like the medieval image of the devil, the Nazi image of the Jewish devil had very marked sexual overtones. The chief way in which the Jew corrupted the Aryan nations was through intermarriage and sexual contact generally. The blood of the Gentile was contaminated, hopelessly corrupted, by even one such contact, and this contamination was hereditary. The Jews had a world government, hiding behind their religious and other organizations, and this government was out to rule and destroy.

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The problem arises, what was the Nazis' attitude to other groups, to Slavs, for instance. There are any number of textbook or lay statements that the Nazis began their destruction with the Jews, and had the Nazi regime persisted for any length of time, Poles, Czechs, Russians, and others would have suffered the same fate. There is some

Taken from: Yehuda Bauer. *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), pp. 31-34, 36. reprinted by permission of the University of Washington Press.

[5] Gerd Korman, "The Holocaust in American Historical Writing," **Societas** 2 (summer, 1972): 251-70.

[6] *A. Roy Eckardt, "Is the Holocaust Unique?"* **Worldview**, Sept. 1974, pp. 21-35.

[7] See for instance, Uriel Tal, "On the Structure of Political Theology and Myth in Germany Prior to the Holocaust," lecture at "The Holocaust – A Generation After" conference, New York, March 1975.

[8] Alex Bein, "The Jewish Parasite," in Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany, **Leo Baeck Yearbook**, vol. 9 (London, 1964), pp. 3-39.

basis in fact for this statement. It is not definitely known how many Soviet prisoners of war were killed by the Nazis through starvation and ill-treatment, but they cannot have been less than two and a half million.[11] There were many thousands of Polish intelligentsia who were murdered by the Nazis during the first year of occupation in Poland in a special "drive." Tens of thousands of other Poles were brutally murdered as resistants, real or imagined. Whole Polish villages were destroyed.[12] The Czech intelligentsia were treated only very slightly better. At Lidice, all males were indiscriminately butchered. Many thousands of Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian peasants were slaughtered during the German occupation.

The purposes and aims of these policies were clearly defined in a memorandum submitted by Himmler to Hitler in May 1940.[13] They were designed to denationalize the East European nations, absorb into the Germanic race those people who were of what the Nazis thought was "Nordic" blood, murder the intelligentsia, destroy all autochthonous cultural life, and turn the rest into a mass of slave laborers who would enjoy the benefits of the Nazi Kultur by building its monuments and continuing to exist under the strict but just rule of their overseers. What emerges from a detailed examination of both the theory and the practice is a policy of selective murder designed to destroy the nations as such, but keep most of their members alive to become a helot working force for the glory of the Reich.

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[11] Cf. for instance Mark Arnold-Foster, **The World at War** (London: Collins, 1973), p. 293

[12] On the so-called "AB-Aktion" against the Polish intelligentsia and other such actions, see Martin Broszat, **Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik** (Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 38-48, 182-87.

[13] Reimund Schnabel, **Macht ohne Moral** (Frankfurt, 1957), p. 404.

To sum up, there may be no difference between Holocaust and genocide for the victim of either. But there are gradations of evil, unfortunately. Holocaust was the policy of the total, sacral Nazi act of mass murder of all Jews they could lay hands on. Genocide was horrible enough, but it did not entail total murder if only because the subject peoples were needed as slaves. They were, indeed, "subhumans" in Nazi terminology. The Jews were not human at all.

- Writing Activity: After students have read and discussed the rationales for studying about the Holocaust and other examples of genocide, have them complete the following writing activity. This lesson might serve as a culminating activity for this section.

Setting:

Your school district recently sent letters to parents explaining that the high school will now include a new *Holocaust and Genocide* unit as part of the social studies and history curriculum. Several days after the letters went out, surprised school officials received a number of phoned responses to the announcement. Some parents expressed satisfaction and appreciation; others expressed anger and annoyance. One parent who called angrily shouted that students should not waste time dwelling on misery and studying about horrors which occurred long ago. Yet, another caller complimented the school district for exploring so sensitive an issue. Surely, she added, awareness might prevent future atrocities.

The editor of the school newspaper agreed to publish the best student responses to the issue. As a vocal, well-respected student you decide to write a letter to the school newspaper expressing your opinion.

Task:

Write a letter to the editor of your school newspaper taking a position either for or against the inclusion of a *Holocaust and Genocide* curriculum at your high school. Offer substantial reasons taken from the readings for your opinion.

Unit I. The Roots of Intolerance and Persecution

A. Denial of Reality

Statement of Purpose:

Many people are unwilling to come to grips with evil in the world whether this evil arises in their immediate environment or in a far-off land. The feeling is that such injustice or persecution can't happen here (in their nation or locality) or to them personally. "Better not to think about it" sums up this attitude. Students need to be made aware that avoiding the unpleasant has serious consequences both for their nation and for themselves.

Objectives:

- Students will describe the dangers of indulging in illusions of hope while shutting their eyes against the painful truth;
- Students will explain that the awareness of an evil reality is the first step toward personal or group survival;
- Students will analyze how the perpetrator of evil rationalizes his or her actions.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Have students listen to or read Hans Christian Andersen's *The Emperor's New Clothes* (Walt Disney Productions, 1970).

Students should be made aware that peer pressure and/or fear may sometimes force us to believe things which are not fact. Our failure to recognize and admit that we are being deceived may serve to encourage the perpetrator to deceive us further. After listening to or reading this children's story, discuss the following:

- What did the two strangers promise the Emperor?
- Why did the officials echo the Emperor's praise of the nonexistent cloth?
- Why did the two strangers continue to pretend they were making new robes for the Emperor?
- Why did most of the townspeople display their admiration of the Emperor's nonexistent robe?
- How did the townspeople react when the honest little child cried out, "He has nothing on at all"?
- Were the townspeople better off after they came to grips with the truth? Why or why not?
- How do people deny reality in their daily lives?

- Have students read Edwin Arlington Robinson's poem, "Miniver Cheevy" and discuss the following questions regarding the nature of reality and its denial:
  - What reality does Miniver Cheevy deny?
  - How does his denial of reality lead to self-destructive behavior?

Miniver Cheevy

Miniver Cheevy, child of scorn,
  Grew lean while he assailed the seasons;
He wept that he was ever born,
  And he had reasons.

Miniver loved the days of old
  When swords were bright and steeds were prancing;
The vision of a warrior bold
  Would set him dancing.

Miniver sighed for what was not,
  and dreamed, and rested from his labors;
He dreamed of Thebes and Camelot,
  And Priam's neighbors.

Miniver mourned the ripe renown
  That made so many a name so fragrant;
He mourned Romance, now on the town,
  And Art, a vagrant.

Miniver loved the Medici,
  Albiet he had never seen one;
He would have sinned incessantly
  Could he have been one.

Miniver cursed the commonplace
  And eyed a khaki suit with loathing;
He missed the mediaevel grace
  Of iron clothing.

Miniver scorned the gold he sought,
  But sore annoyed was he without it;
Miniver thought, and thought, and thought,
  And thought about it.

Miniver Cheevy, born too late,
  Scratched his head and kept on thinking;
Miniver coughed, and called it fate,
  And kept on drinking.

Taken from: Edwin Arlington Robinson, "Miniver Cheevy" from *The Town Down the River*. Copyright 1910 Charles Scribner's Sons; copyright renewed 1938 Ruth Nivison. Used by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons.

- Next have students examine the following series of quotations in terms of:
  - events in their own lives and
  - events in history.

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to fulfill it."
George Santayana, *The Life of Reason*

"The passion for destruction is also a creative passion."
Michael Bakunin

"Never to know is bad; Not to wish to know is worse!"
African proverb

"As long as one believes that the evil man wears horns, one will not discover an evil man."
Erich Fromm

- The following role play activity is designed to ask students to formulate responses to a situation in which one "actor" denies the reality of an event. Assign students to groups of five or six, and structure the group tasks around the following situation:

One evening a good friend who sounds very upset telephones you to ask advice. She explains that she had been mugged earlier in the day. While she continues to be unnerved by the incident, she explains, she is surprised by her mother's reaction. Her mother does not want her daughter to press charges against the criminal, who has been apprehended, because she feels that dwelling on misfortune keeps misfortune alive. The mother warns that the court appearance will be very difficult for your friend. Your friend's mother urges her to forget about the incident and to stop "crying over spilled milk." While your friend sustained the attack very well, she is confused by her mother's attitude and is uncertain about how to proceed.

After reading the dilemma situation, ask students in each group to role play a conversation between the two friends in the story. Have one friend try to convince the other to press charges. Be sure students support their decisions with adequate reasons for action.

In a follow-up discussion, ask students why some people decide to deny the existence of a real problem. What does denying reality accomplish for the victim? What are the dangers of denying reality? Ask students to find other examples of situations in which people have denied the reality of a problem or a threat.

B. Indifference

Statement of Purpose:

People who have recognized the existence of evil may decide that it is not in their own self-interest to become involved in correcting or mitigating the effects of that evil. They prefer, instead, to retreat behind the attitudes "It's somebody else's problem" or "Why should I get involved in something which is none of my business?" Involvement with other people requires feeling for them. It means worrying about their well-being, and it involves rage at those who assault them. It may even mean risking one's life to protect them.

Objectives:

- Students will raise questions regarding moral responsibility for what occurs in their immediate environment;
- Students will become aware of the choices the individual has regarding involvement and non- involvement;
- Students will analyze the role passive bystanders play in making the task of the perpetrator easier and the plight of the victim more difficult;
- Students will grow in the understanding of the interdependence of all people.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Read the following quotation to students:

> "Each person withdraws into himself, behaves as though he is a stranger of the destiny of all the others. His children and his good friends constitute for him the whole of the human species. As for his transactions with his fellow citizens he may mix among them, but he sees them not, only touches them, but does not feel them, he exists only in himself and for himself alone. And if on these terms there remains in his mind a sense of family, there no longer remains a sense of society."
>
> Alexis de Tocqueville

Tell students that this statement was written over 150 years ago by a Frenchman visiting America. Ask students from what they observe in the 1980s, is this statement still true? Why or why not?

Have students discuss the following questions:

- What does the author mean when he says "he may mix among them, but he sees them not, he only touches them, but does not feel them"?
- Are people today as caring for one another as you would like them to be? Explain why.

- Involvement with other people requires feeling for them. It means worrying about their grief, and it involves rage at those who assault them. It may even mean risking one's life to protect them. Here is a story about how the attitude of noninvolvement had tragic consequences.

Have students read "38 Witnesses" and then answer the following questions:

- Why did the people who heard Miss Genovese's screams fail to do anything to help her?
- How did the perpetrator benefit from their inaction?
- What could have been done to save the victim?
- What alternatives did the witness have?
- How do you feel the police should treat those people who witnessed the crime and did nothing?
- What barriers (both within and outside themselves) prevented the witnesses from taking actions?

– How do the words of the writer Arthur Koestler apply to this case? "The world is open to us as never before, and we walk about as prisoners, each in his private, portable cage. And meanwhile the watch goes on ticking. What can the screamers do but go on screaming until they get blue in the face."
– How might you have reacted in a similar situation. Why?

38 WITNESSES

Martin Gansberg

For more than half an hour 38 respectable, law-abiding citizens in Queens watched a killer stalk and stab a woman in three separate attacks in Kew Gardens.

Twice the sound of their voices and the sudden glow of their bedroom lights interrupted him and frightened him off. Each time he returned, sought her out and stabbed her again. Not one person telephoned the police during the assault; one witness called after the woman was dead.

That was two weeks ago today. But Assistant Chief Inspector Frederick M. Lussen, in charge of the borough's detective force and a veteran of 25 years of homocide investigations, is still shocked.

He can give a matter-of-fact recitation of many murders. But the Kew Gardens slaying baffles him – not because it is a murder, but because the "good people" failed to call the police.

"As we have reconstructed the crime," he said, "the assailant had three chances to kill this woman during the 35-minute period. He returned twice to complete the job. If we had been called when he first attacked, the woman might not be dead now."

Taken from: The New York Times Company. *38 Witnesses*. (c) 1964. Reprinted by permission.

This is what the police say happened beginning at 3:20 a.m. in the staid, middle-class, tree-lined Austin Street area:

Twenty-eight-year-old Catherine Genovese, who was called Kitty by almost everyone in the neighborhood, was returning home from her job as a manager of a bar in Hollis. She parked her red Fiat in a lot adjacent to the Kew Gardens, Long Island, railroad station, facing Mowbray Place. Like many residents of the neighborhood, she had parked there day after day since her arrival from Connecticut a year ago, although the railroad frowned on the practice.

She turned off the lights of her car, locked the door and started to walk the 100 feet to the entrance of her apartment at 82-70 Austin Street, which is in a Tudor building with stores on the first floor and apartments on the second.

The entrance to the apartment is in the rear of the building because the front is rented to retail stores. At night the quiet neighborhood is shrouded in the slumbering darkness that marks most residential areas.

Miss Genovese noticed a man at the far end of the lot, near a seven-story apartment house at 82-40 Austin Street. She halted; then nervously, she headed up Austin Street toward Lefferts Boulevard, where there is a call box to the 102nd Police Precinct in nearby Richmond Hill.

She got as far as a street light in front of a bookstore before the man grabbed her. She screamed. Lights went on in the 10-story apartment house at 82-67 Austin Street, which faces the bookstore. Windows slid open and voices punctured the early morning stillness.

Miss Genovese screamed: "Oh, my God, he stabbed me! Please help me!"

From one of the upper windows in the apartment house, a man called down: "Let that girl alone!"

The assailant looked at him, shrugged and walked down Austin Street toward a white sedan parked a short distance away. Miss Genovese struggled to her feet.

Lights went out. The killer returned to Miss Genovese, now trying to make her way around the side of the building by the parking lot to get to her apartment. The assailant stabbed her again.

"I'm dying!" she shrieked. "I'm dying!"

Windows were opened again, and lights went on in many apartments. The assailant got into his car and drove away. Miss Genovese staggered to her feet. A city bus, Q-10, the Lefferts Boulevard line to Kennedy International Airport, passed. It was 3:35 a.m.

The assailant returned. By then, Miss Genovese had crawled to the back of the building, where freshly painted brown doors to the apartment house held out hope of safety. The killer tried the first door; she wasn't there. At the second door, 82-62 Austin Street, he saw her slumped on the floor at the foot of the stairs. He stabbed her a third time, fatally.

It was 3:50 by the time the police received their first call from a man who was a neighbor of Miss Genovese. In two minutes they were at the scene. The neighbor, a 70-year old woman, and another woman were the only persons on the street. Nobody else came forward.

The man explained that he had called the police after much deliberation. He had phoned a friend in Nassau County for advice, and then he had crossed the roof of the building to the apartment of the elderly woman to get her to make the call.

"I didn't want to get involved," he sheepishly told the police....

- As a follow-up activity to "38 Witnesses," you might have students take part in the following role-playing exercise.

Setting:

You live at 82-70 Austin Street, Kew Gardens. Kitty Genovese had been your neighbor until two weeks ago when she was brutally murdered. Now that the initial shock has passed, you have been asked by a tenant-leader to come to a meeting of neighbors to discuss individual reactions and, hopefully, to set up some guidelines for preventing a similar situation in the future. Six people (including yourself) meet one evening. The six people include:

1) the tenant-leader, who is outraged by the lack of involvement and is determined to develop guidelines for future action;
2) a long-time resident who initially insists that crime is rampant everywhere and that one should react only if one's own life is threatened;
3) a resident who believes that because the main concern is to apprehend the killer, an armed group should personally seek and punish the suspected killer;
4) a resident who feels that Miss Genovese, the victim, was to blame because she had been out so late and, in fact, invited the attack;
5) a resident who did finally call the police but who expresses regrets that he didn't call sooner;
6) a resident who feels that the police are ineffective in dealing with crime and that the streets need more police officers on patrol.

Task:

With the class divided into groups of six, each member of the group is to choose one of the six roles. The "meeting" lasts about thirty minutes.

Ten minutes before the end of the period each group is to answer these questions: Was any solution offered? Who made the most valuable contribution? Why? Who interfered with group progress? Why? Who would act differently if a cry for help were to be heard in the future? Why?

- Introduce the poem "The Hangman," by Maurice Ogden, by telling students that the poem illustrates the danger of not identifying with victims of injustice. In order to get people to care for others, they must be able to put themselves in another's situation. As Solzhenitsyn remarked in *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denosovich*, "There's no point in expecting someone who's warm to understand someone who's cold."

After reading the poem, have students answer the following questions:

- What does "The Hangman" represent?
- Explain the reaction of the other citizens as the Jew and the Black were being hung.
- What did "The Hangman" mean when he said, "He who serves me best, shall earn the rope on the gallows-tree"?
- How did the "I" in the poem serve "The Hangman"?
- Could "The Hangman" have accomplished so much without the fear and silence of the bystanders?
- Ask students to define the term "collaborator" and apply it to the events described in the poem.

If available, show the film, "The Hangman" (12 minutes, color, McGraw-Hill).

After discussing the poem, divide the class into two groups. Group A lists three conditions under which they would remain silent if they saw Group B being mistreated. Group B lists three conditions under which they would break their silence if they saw Group A being mistreated.

Ask students to make the connection between individual decisions not to get involved and the growth of tyranny by reading the following quote:

> "Tyranny begins in silence; one begins to tolerate intolerance. Then one feels guilty about the silence. And when the next step comes it is as difficult to break the silence as it is dangerous to do so. It is a different silence now. It is ruled by fear. Now one becomes a participant in Tyranny, whether one wants to or not."
>
> Source: Eugene Heimler. *Resistance Against Tyranny*. p. xiii.

THE HANGMAN

Maurice Ogden

1.

Into our town the Hangman came,
Smelling of gold and blood and flame –
And he paced our bricks with a different air
And built his frame on the courthouse square.

The scaffold stood by the courthouse side,
Only as wide as the door was wide;
A frame as tall, or little more,
Than the capping sill of the courthouse door.

And we wondered, whenever we had the time,
Who the criminal, what the crime,
The Hangman judged with the yellow twist
Of knotted hemp in his busy fist.

And innocent though we were, with dread
We passed those eyes of buckshot lead;
Till one cried: "Hangman, who is he
For whom you raise the gallows-tree?"

Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot eye,
And he gave us a riddle instead of reply:
"He who serves me best" said he,
"Shall earn the rope on the gallows-tree."

And he stepped down, and laid his hand
On a man who came from another land –

(c) 1959 by Maurice Ogden.

And we breathed again, for another's grief
At the Hangman's hand was our relief.

And the gallows-frame on the courthouse lawn
By tomorrow's sun would be struck and gone.
So we gave him way, and no one spoke,
Out of respect for his hangman's cloak.

2.

The next day's sun looked mildly down
On roof and street in our quiet town
And, stark and black in the morning air,
The gallows-tree on the courthouse square.

And the Hangman stood at his usual stand
With the yellow hemp in his busy hand;
With his buckshot eye and jaw like a pike
And his air so knowing and businesslike.

And we cried: "Hangman, have you not done,
Yesterday, with the alien one?"
Then we fell silent, and stood amazed:
"Oh, not for him was the gallows raised..."

He laughed a laugh as he looked at us:
"...Did you think I'd gone to all this fuss
To hang one man? That's a thing I do
To stretch the rope when the rope is new."

Then one cried "Murderer!" One cried "Shame!"
And into our midst the Hangman came
To that man's place. "Do you hold," said he,
"With him that was meat for the gallows-tree?"

And he laid his hand on that one's arm,
And we shrank back in quick alarm,
And we gave him way, and no one spoke
Out of the fear of his hangman's cloak.

That night we saw with dread surprise
The Hangman's scaffold had grown in size.
Fed by the blood beneath the chute
The gallows-tree had taken root.

Now as wide, or a little more,
Than the steps that led to the courthouse door,
As tall as the writing, or nearly as tall,
Halfway up on the courthouse wall.

3.

The third he took – we had all heard tell –
Was a usurer and infidel,
And: "What," said the hangman, "have you to do
With the gallows-bound, and he a Jew?"

And we cried out: "Is this one he
Who has served you well and faithfully?"
The Hangman smiled: "It's a clever scheme
To try the strength of the gallows-beam."

The fourth man's dark, accusing song
Had scratched our comfort hard and long;
And "What concern," he gave us back,
"Have you for the doomed – the doomed and black?"

The fifth, The sixth. And we cried again:
"Hangman, Hangman, is this the man?"
"It's a trick," he said, "that we hangmen know
For easing the trap when the trap springs slow."

And so we ceased, and asked no more,
As the Hangman tallied his bloody score;
And sun by sun, and night by night,
The gallows grew to monstrous height.

The wings of the scaffold opened wide
Till they covered the square from side to side;
And the monster cross-beam, looking down,
Cast its shadow across the town.

4.

Then through the town the Hangmen came
And called in the empty streets my name –
And I looked at the gallows soaring tall
And thought: "There is no one left at all

For hanging, and so he calls to me
To help pull down the gallows-tree,"
And I went out with right good hope
To the Hangman's tree and the Hangman's rope.

He smiled at me as I came down
To the courthouse square through the silent town,
And supple and stretched in his busy hand
Was the yellow twist of the hempen strand.

And he whistled his tune as he tried the trap
And it sprang down with a ready snap
And then with a smile of awful command
He laid his hand upon my hand.

"You tricked me, Hangman!" I shouted then,
"That your scaffold was built for other men...
And I no henchman of yours," I cried,
"You lied to me, Hangman, foully lied!"

Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot eye:
"Lied to you? Tricked you?" he said, "Not I.
For I answered straight and I told you true:
The scaffold was raised for none but you.

"For who has served more faithfully
Than you with your coward's hope?" said he,
"And where are the others that might have stood
Side by side in the common good?"

"Dead," I whispered; and amiably
"Murdered," the Hangman corrected me:
"First the alien, then the Jew...
I did no more than you let me do."

Beneath the beam that blocked the sky,
None had stood so alone as I –
And the Hangman strapped me, and no voice there
Cried "Stay!" for me in the empty square.

- Have the class read the following statement by novelist Bruno Jasienski (Yasensky):

> "Do not fear your enemies. The worst they can do is kill you. Do not fear friends. At worst, they may betray you. Fear those who do not care; they neither kill nor betray, but betrayal and murder exist because of their silent consent."

Next, have students read the following statement from Elie Wiesel's *Night*:

' "I've got more faith in Hitler than in anyone else. He's the only one who has kept his promises, all his promises, to the Jewish people.'" (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1982), p. 77.

Elie Wiesel, born in Sighet, Transylvania, was sent to Auschwitz while still a teenager. He was later moved to Buchenwald. Author of more than twenty books, Elie Wiesel is chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and a professor at Boston University.

Ask students to compare the Jasienski (Yasensky) and Wiesel statements and answer the following questions:

- What do the statements say about involvement?
- Why should someone fear those people who keep silent?
- What did Wiesel mean when he wrote, "Hitler...He's the only one who has kept his promises...."

C. Prejudicial Attitudes

Statement of Purpose:

Creating distance between yourself and victims of injustice is made much easier if you feel the victims do not deserve to be treated fairly. If the victims are seen as having the same human qualities as yourself, it becomes difficult to watch them being denied their basic human and civil rights. Prejudicial thinking removes the "humanness" from individuals and groups who are seen as undeserving of fair and equal treatment. This thinking (or non-thinking) pattern isolates individuals as targets for dislike, discrimination, and possibly, extermination. Students should realize that while everyone is infected with varying degrees of prejudicial thinking, such thinking not only increases society's indifference to the suffering of so-called "out groups" but also has the potential of contributing to genocidal thought and action.

Objectives:

- Students will recognize the disease-like quality of prejudice;
- Students will explain how prejudice is sanctioned through the use of propaganda;
- Students will analyze the ways in which prejudice dehumanizes its victims;
- Students will trace the relationship between society's indifference to "out groups" and genocidal thought and action;
- Students will describe how language is used to dehumanize the "out-group."

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Provide students with copies of "The Greenies." After reading the material, have students answer these questions:
  - How did John Doe, Jr., become prejudiced against people with green hair?
  - Use the reading to elicit the definitions of intolerance, scapegoat, stereotype, and discrimination.
  - In what ways is prejudice like a disease? How do we best counter negative propaganda?
  - In what ways does prejudice affect both the victim and the perpetrator?

THE GREENIES

William Van Til

John Doe, Jr., is not born with prejudice against people who have green hair. But from the time he is a small child, he is warned against them. He is not supposed to play with green-haired children. He is told not to talk with them. His parents say, "Stay with your own kind. You'll be bad, John, if you mix with green-haired children."

As John grows older, he learns that his parents, their friends, and neighbors do not want people with green hair to:

attend his church
live in his neighborhood
go to his school, or playground, or camp.

John believes what the adults around him say. And they say that green-haired people should go to church elsewhere, live elsewhere, and go to other schools. As a child, John does not see many people with green hair.

At home, John often listens to his father talk. John Doe, Sr., started out in life with high hopes. But somewhere along the say, John Doe, Sr., did not get the job he wanted or the raise he hoped for. He began to believe that a certain group of people were the cause of his failure and that these people are to blame for everything that is wrong in life. Naturally, the bad ones are the Greenies – the people with green hair!

John Doe, Sr., talks against the people with green hair everywhere he goes – in public and in private. At home, especially, he talks about how dirty, dumb, poor, and evil the people with green hair are. Day after day, he makes jokes about them. He says that they should be thrown out of the community or that they are turning the country over to the enemy. And he always says that no Greenies will ever move into his neighborhood. Complaining about the green-haired people makes John Doe, Sr., forget that he himself is something of a failure. And when he is reminded of his failure, he can easily blame it on the green-haired people.

John Doe, Jr., begins to believe that his father is right. And anyhow he doesn't often talk with green-haired people to see what they're really like. Sometimes he reads about them in newspa-

Taken from: William Van Til. *Prejudice – How Do People Get That Way* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1975), pp. 10-12. Used by permission of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

pers. But since newspapers play up crime, he usually reads about green-haired people who have gotten into trouble with the law. Again John believes his parents are right. Green-haired people do bad things. Even the newspapers say so.

John Doe, Jr., becomes a man. He believes the things he has learned about people with green hair. Then he marries Jane Roe, who has learned the same prejudices against people with green hair. Later they have children. And what do they teach their children? "Don't play with children with green hair. You are bad if you do."

So John Doe, Jr., carries over his prejudices to his children. And his children, too, become infected with the disease called prejudice.

- Provide students with copies of "My Turn: The Sting of Polish Jokes." This reading is taken from an article which expresses Michael Novak's reactions and opinions about the negative effects of some aspects of ethnic humor on Poles, Blacks, and other groups in the United States. Students should study this reading and be prepared to describe how Polish jokes and jokes which demean other ethnic groups serve to reinforce prejudicial attitudes and thinking. Ask students to discuss the following questions related to the Novak article:

  – According to Novak, what is the intent of Polish jokes and some other forms of ethnic humor?
  – How do these jokes differ from those ethnic jokes in which all groups are treated as equals?
  – What effects have Polish jokes had on Polish-Americans?
  – Explain what Novak means when he states:

    "This is supposed to be a nation of civility toward all, bigotry toward none. It is not."

MY TURN

The Sting of Polish Jokes

Michael Novak

An acquaintance of mine from Alabama served in Poland for seven years with the U.S. State Department. His children, now 10 and 12, went to Polish schools, having learned the language with the ease of the very young. Now back in Virginia, the two children, despite their pure Anglo-Saxon Baptist features, are the constant object of playground abuse. Children shout "goulash!" at them. They are called "Hunky." They are the constant butt of "dumb Polack" jokes. On one occasion when the oldest lad could bear the humiliation no longer, he had an inspiration. He turned on those who were taunting him with a challenge: "Can you speak Polish?" The others fell silent and then he hit them: "How does it feel to be dumber than a Polack?"

Too many Americans make a joke out of Polish jokes. They expect people of Slavic descent (all of whom suffer under these jokes; no one can tell us apart) to take these jokes as funny, to show our own sense of humor, gracefully to laugh at ourselves. If mere graciousness were at stake, we could easily oblige.

The intent of Polish jokes, however, is not humor alone.... There are mean anti-Semitic jokes no Jew or Arab ought to tolerate. Not all humor is humor; different genera require different responses.

The Shared Barbs

Ethnic humor is one of the great resources of this nation. There are forms of laughing at oneself and at others, usually based on the daily absurdities of mutual noncomprehension or double meaning. These are truly amusing, probably the most amusing jokes in the American repertoire. In this humor, all ethnic groups are equal; the barbs are shared by everybody at the same time.

But there is a second genus of ethnic joke. It does not gain its force from that double understanding of the same word or doubly misapprehended event that characterizes multi-cultural perception. It is based on demeaning the character of one ethnic group, in line with a stereotype, and its function is to make the majority feel superior to the minority. Told in the presence of the minority, these jokes further require those who are their butt to acquiesce in their own humiliation, to laugh obediently, to accept their ascribed inferiority. (Nudging elbow: "No offense, friend. Only a joke.") The tactic is structurally the same as those techniques that force inmates to embrace their own degradation. Rage is not permitted. One must stand there helplessly and acquiesce.

. . .

The Double Bind

. . .

Paul Wrobel, a brilliant young anthropologist who is now working in Detroit, has shown from many hundreds of hours of inquiry in one Polish-American neighborhood how deeply the public stereotype has been internalized by many Polish-Americans. When a news dispatch carried his findings back to Detroit from the scholarly meeting in Boston where he presented them, the Detroit papers received a most touching deluge of letters from sad and hurt Polish-Americans. Their own self-image was exactly as he described: poignantly aware of being stigmatized as dull, dumb, and stolid, and painfully aware of how unfair that image is, they could hardly bear to

Condensed from: *Newsweek*, April 12, 1976, p. 13. Copyright 1976 by Newsweek, Inc. All rights reserved, reprinted by permission.

have the subject discussed. One cannot read these letters without piercing recognition and dismay.

The Last Laugh

One woman wrote that the news stories based on Wrobel's study "added to the already anti-Polish climate." A man declared that "the damage inflicted upon Polish- American boys was devastating." A mother wrote: "We were blessed with a good sense of humor but we feel (these stories) will stir up a hornet's nest."

Cannot some major center of learning conduct a study of how much damage is done to the psyches of people constantly stereotyped in public? Can't the American Civil Liberties Union and a wide range of anti-defamation societies join in protests to the magazines, television channels and gatherings of (otherwise) sophisticated people who tell ethnic jokes of the inherently demeaning kind? We don't need Supreme Court decisions, perhaps, but we do need a basic sense of public fairness. Eastern Europeans cannot halt Polish jokes alone. The help of all is required.

This is supposed to be a nation of civility toward all, bigotry toward none. It is not. But when the laughter rings, it rings for thee.

- Have students read the children's book by Dr. Seuss entitled *The Sneetches* (Random House, 1961). This story will help students to better understand how out-groups are created. Students will also read about how the attempts of out-groups to assimilate are sometimes rejected by the in-group. The Dr. Seuss selection also points out how third-parties can achieve power by playing one group against the other ("Divide and Conquer").

After students read the story, discuss the following questions:

- What distinguished one group of Sneetches from the other?
- How did the "Star-Belly Sneetches" make the "Plain-Belly Sneetches" feel inferior?
- How did the "Plain-Belly Sneetches" attempt to gain equality with the "Star-Belly Sneetches?"
- How did the "Star-Belly Sneetches" react to this attempt?
- What did the Fix-It-Up Chappie mean when he said, "They never will learn? No. You can't teach a Sneetch!"

- In addition to mental and emotional damage, the victims of prejudice may also suffer physical injury. This is especially the case during times of severe economic and social stress when intergroup hatred spills into the street. Such was the case in mid-19th century America when anti-Catholic feeling reached a peak in the cities of the Northeast. Anti-Catholic propaganda abounded with tales of deception and coercion, sexual perversion, and of the Pope's "plot" to take over America. The following reading describes an event in Philadelphia in 1844 which resulted, in part, from years of prejudice and scapegoating of one American ethnic group, the Irish. Have students read this selection from Ray Billington's *The Protestant Crusade* and study the anti-Irish cartoons by Thomas Nast (*Harper's Weekly*, 1870). Students might then prepare an essay which summarizes how prejudicial attitudes develop and how these attitudes result in the unfair and discriminatory treatment of various ethnic groups.

As students prepare their essays, have them respond to the following questions:

- How were the various ethnic groups portrayed in the media?
- What fears did Americans have regarding the Catholic Church?
- Why did Americans feel that the Catholic Church was a threat to the American public school system?
- What is the relationship between the Philadelphia riots and the Nast cartoons?
- What forces caused these attitudes to develop?
- How enduring and pervasive have ethnic and religious prejudicial attitudes been?

THE PHILADELPHIA RIOTS OF 1844

Ray Billington

For more than a decade before the middle 1840s forces had been at work to create antipathy toward Rome; societies, lecturers, newspapers, magazines, churches, ministers, and a political party had all been enlisted in the cause. An intolerance unusual in a democratic land had been bred in thousands of people. This prejudice against Popery led inevitably to violence and bloodshed, for such depth of feeling as that created by the anti-Catholic agitators demanded physical expression in this forceful generation. This outburst occurred in Philadelphia during the summer of 1844, when natives and foreigners clashed in a series of riots which turned the City of Brotherly Love into a chaos of hatred and persecution.

Philadelphia was well equipped for its part in the struggle. The population of the city itself was largely American, an old society with a heritage of intolerance toward new forces, but the many suburbs were filled with alien workers who manned the city's industrial establishments. This geographic cleavage between the two antagonistic groups had caused trouble before; the city had known several pitched battles between fire com-

panies and between American and foreign workers on the railroads and in the textile mills. Election rioting was also common, and had reached its peak in the spring of 1844 when Irish and Americans had fought openly on the streets of one of the suburbs. Much of this violence was attributable to the Protestant-Catholic antagonism which the American Protestant Association had aroused by making most of the city's pulpits organs for antipapal attacks. Local debating societies and tract societies had similarly been interested in the No-Popery crusade during the early 1840's and had combined with ministerial and political speakers to create in the people a general antipathy toward Rome. In such an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, any suspected Catholic aggression would certainly spell trouble.

The spark which set off the smouldering hatred was an educational controversy similar to that of New York. Inspired by the efforts of Bishop Hughes to secure a share of the school fund, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of the Philadelphia diocese had, on November 14, 1842, addressed a letter to the Board of Controllers of the public schools complaining that the Protestant Bible was being read to Catholic children and that religious exercises were being made a daily part of the instruction. He respectfully asked that the Catholic children be allowed to use their own version of the Bible and that they be excused from other religious instruction. In January, 1843, the school board complied with this request, allowing children to read from any version of the Bible which their parents selected.

Dissatisfaction with this action developed slowly during the following year, stirred by the American Protestant Association which promptly seized upon the issue as one worthy of its undivided efforts. Pamphleteers and the local religious press were unrestrained in their condemnation of the Controllers' action and demanded that Protestants throw every obstacle in the path of Catholics who sought to introduce un-Christian education. "The interference of foreign prelates," wrote one author, "and of a foreign ecclesiastical power, should perish at our threshold. Let a grave be sunk, then, over which even the great Papal hierarch himself cannot step." This challenge was accepted without question by a large part of the population. When a school board member of the suburb of Kensington tried to stop Bible reading in a local school, a mass meeting was held to demand his resignation. A similar public gathering was staged in Independence Square, Philadelphia, on March 11, 1844, where a large audience heard speeches against Catholicism and resolved:

"That the present crisis demands that without distinction of party, sect, or profession, every man who loves his country, his Bible, and his God, is bound by all lawful and honorable means to resist every attempt to banish the Bible from our public institutions."

In vain did Bishop Kenrick publish a second letter to the Controllers on the following day, stating that he "did not object to the use of the Bible, providing Catholic children be allowed to use their own version." The time had come when such a palliative could no longer quiet Protestant fears. Resentment throughout Philadelphia and its suburbs continued to grow.

During the early weeks of April a mounting tension was apparent among both Protestants and Catholics particularly in the suburb of Kensington, an industrial section where Irish laborers were concentrated in large numbers. The first actual clash came late in the month, when a group of American Republicans announced that they would hold a meeting in the third ward of that city. Irish resentment at such an invasion of their territory was great, and threats were openly made that if the natives persisted in their intention, their meeting place would be burned to the ground. Undeterred by this warning, the natives assembled on the night of May 3, only to be routed by an Irish mob. Driven from their meeting, the remnants of the nativists gathered in a safe place and passed a series of resolutions.

"That we, the citizens of Kensington in mass meeting assembled, do solemnly protest against this flagrant violation of the rights of American citizens, and call upon our fellow citizens at large, to visit with their indignation and reproach, this outbreak of a vindictive, anti-republican spirit, manifested by a portion of the alien population of Third Ward Kensington.

"Resolved, That in view of the above transaction, we invite our fellow-citizens at large to attend the next meeting to sustain us in the expression of our opinions.

"Resolved, That when we adjourn we adjourn to meet in a mass meeting on Monday afternoon at 4 o'clock, at the corner of Second and Maseer (sic) streets."

This second meeting was little more than a gauntlet thrown at the feet of Irishmen ever eager to retrieve it. Bloodshed was being openly welcomed, nor was the situation eased by the attitude of the anti-Catholic press. On the morning of Monday, May 6, the day on which the postponed meeting was to be held, the **Native American** proclaimed:

Native Americans

"The American Republicans of the city and county of Philadelphia, who are determined to support the NATIVE AMERICANS in their Constitutional Rights of peaceably assembling to express their opin-

Taken from: Ray Billington. *The Protestant Crusade: 1800-1860* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1938, 1952), pp. 220-6. Used by permission of Mrs. Ray Allen Billington.

ions on any question of Public Policy and to **Sustain them against the assaults of Aliens and foreigners** are requested to assemble on **THIS AFTERNOON**, May 6th, 1844, at 4 o'clock, at the corner of Master and Second Streets, Kensington, to express their indignation at the outrage on Friday evening last, and to take the necessary steps to prevent a repetition of it. **Natives be punctual and resolved to sustain your rights as Americans, firmly but moderately.**"

Such an appeal would naturally attract rowdies from the lower classes, who would be ready to riot if given the slightest excuse.

Those who anticipated trouble were not disappointed. Several thousand strong, the American Republicans had scarcely gathered at the appointed meeting place when a heavy rain drove them in a bedraggled procession through the streets of the Irish section of Kensington to the Market House. Just as they were entering this building, several shots rang out, fired either from the windows of the Hibernia Hose Company house, an Irish fire company, or from the mob itself. The meeting was thrown into a turmoil immediately. One of the marchers, a young man named George Shiffler, who had been struck and mortally wounded, was carried from the meeting by four men amid general confusion, where spectators were able to hear only one gray-haired man who shouted "On, On Americans. Liberty or Death." Before order could be restored, a band of Irish laborers stormed the building; the natives lost courage and made a hasty retreat for the second time.

Before nightfall another meeting of native Americans had been hurriedly assembled to lay plans for the burial of George Shiffler and the others who had been killed in the fighting. At its conclusion, those present again invaded the Irish quarter in Kensington and attacked several Irish homes before the militia arrived. "When the natives had got their blood up," one nativistic newspaper remarked with some bitterness, "and were fast gaining the ascendancy, the peace officers thought it high time to interpose the authority of the law."

The dawn of a new day found the whole city in the grip of intense excitement. Crowds gathered at every corner, listening to volunteer speakers exhort against Catholicism. A procession was hastily formed and marched through the streets bearing a torn American flag on which was painted: "This is the flag that was trampled under foot by the Irish papists." A proclamation by Bishop Kenrick deploring Catholic participation in the disorder did little good, for when copies were hurriedly posted throughout the city they were torn down and made into cockade hats by the natives. Two Irishmen, recognized as among the preceding night's rioters, were captured by a group of Americans and taken to an alderman's home while a mob followed at their heels shouting, "Kill them. Kill them. Blood for blood." The editor of the *Native American* completely lost his sense of balance; his paper, appearing with its columns shrouded in black boldly demanded reprisal and more bloodshed:

"Heretofore we have been among those who have entered our solemn protest against any observations that would bear the slightest semblance of making the Native cause a religious one, or charging upon our adopted fellow-citizens any other feeling than that of a mistaken opinion as to our views and their own rights. We hold back no longer. We are now free to declare that no terms whatever are to be held with these people.

"Another St. Bartholomew's day is begun on the streets of Philadelphia. The bloody hand of the Pope has stretched itself forth to our destruction. We now call on our fellow-citizens, who regard free institutions, whether they be native or adopted, to arm. Our liberties are now to be fought for—let us not be slack in our preparations."

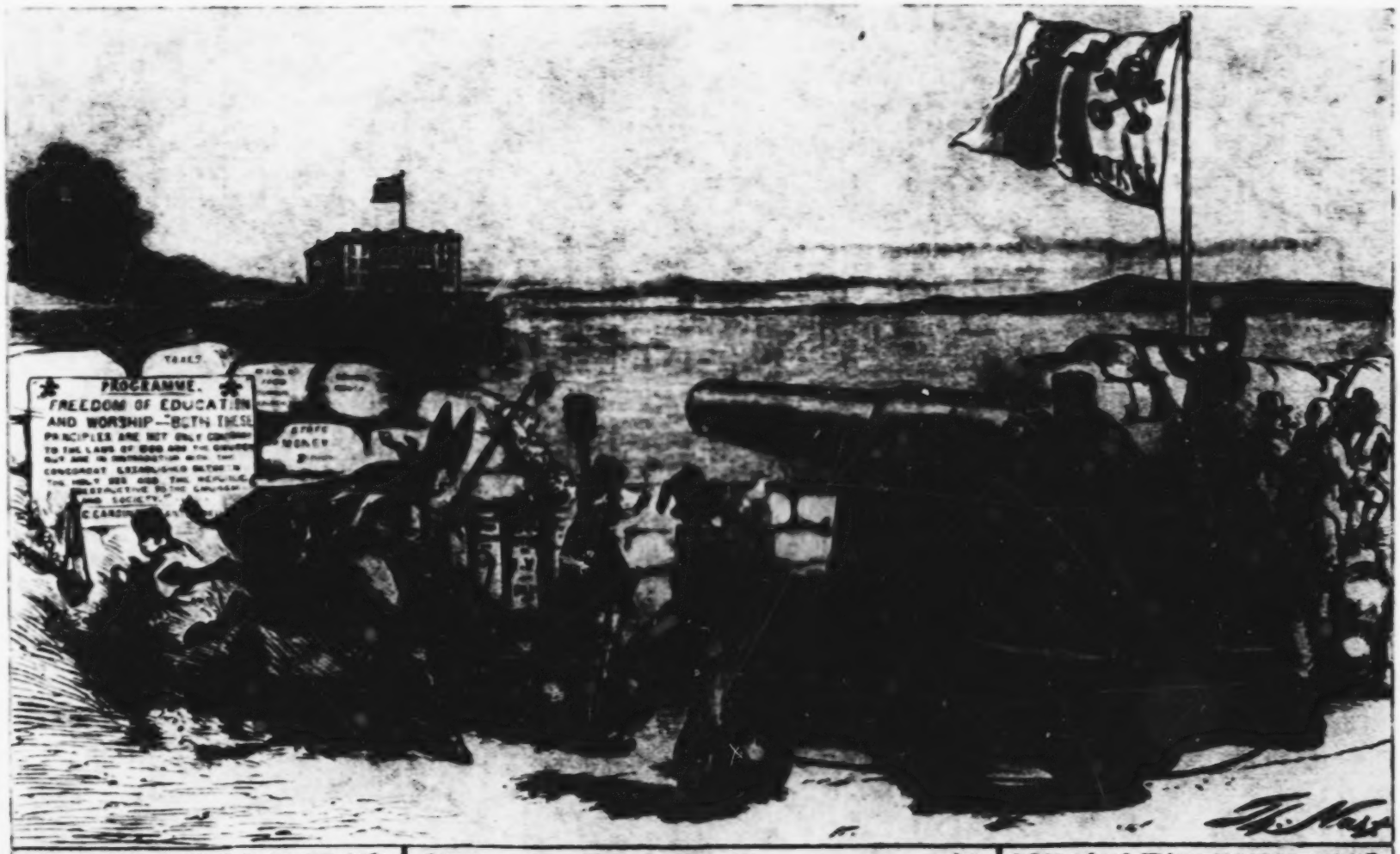
Spurred on by this ill-advised warning, native Americans assembled that afternoon in the State House yard. Orators tried to warn them against bloodshed and cautioned them to keep the peace, but their words were answered by cries of "No, No," from the crowd. After adopting a number of resolutions asserting the right of peaceful assembly and charging the Papists with an attempt to drive the Bible from the schools, the natives banded together and again marched into Kensington. Traversing the Irish section shouting insults and damaging Irish homes, the mob was soon locked in armed conflict with equally riotous foreigners. The Hibernia Hose Company house was stormed and demolished; before midnight more than thirty houses belonging to Irishmen had been burned to the ground, and only the tardy arrival of the militia put an end to the holocaust.

The third day of rioting climaxed this period of disorder. Crowds began gathering on the streets of Kensington early in the afternoon, shouting against the Pope and demanding vengeance for the natives who had been killed. To observers many of the attackers seemed to be well organized and bent solely on the systematic destruction of Irish homes, for within a few hours whole blocks of houses were in flames. The militia appeared but proved powerless before the pillaging mob. Protestant Irish and Americans all over Kensington hastened to protect themselves by fastening large signs bearing the legend "Native American" upon the doors of the houses, or lacking these, hastily displaying a copy of the newspaper of that name. The crowd stopped before such a sign to cheer.

Roaming the streets, the rioters finally came to Saint Michael's Catholic Church. A rumor that arms were concealed within the building proved sufficient grounds for attack, and while the presiding priest fled in disguise, the torch was applied. As flames consumed the church and an adjoining seminary, the rioters marched on St. Augustine's Church. A hurry call was dispatched for the mayor, who had been neglecting his duties to celebrate his daughter's birthday, but his speech to the crowd from the steps of the structure, in which he stated that the building was unarmed and that he himself had the key, had an opposite effect from that intended. The mob, now assured that the building was not defended, brushed past the few militia available, burst open the doors, and set fire to the church. Throughout the city priests and nuns trembled for their lives, and Kensington was fast assuming the aspect of a war-torn town as Irish refugees fled with their belongings.

CHURCH & STATE

UNITED STATES.



OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED.

"FORT SUMTER."

THE MAN THAT HAULS DOWN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS SHOOT HIM ON THE SPOT.

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- Explain to the students that stereotypes and scapegoats may also be encouraged through the use of language. Ask students to read "The Language of War" which describes the use of language in propaganda. After reading the article, have students discuss the following questions:
  - How does the language of war make war seem like nothing more than a fight between two men in a barroom?
  - Who uses language to arouse the sentiments of the people?
  - Why have some leaders of nations and mass movements tried to dehumanize their opponents?

THE LANGUAGE OF WAR

Aldous Huxley

Language is, among other things, a device which people use for suppressing and distorting the truth. Consider, for example, the case of war. War is enormously discreditable to those who order it to be waged and even to those who merely tolerate its existence. Furthermore, to any sensitive person the facts of war are revolting and horrifying. To falsify these facts and to make war seem less evil than it really is, is to our advantage. By suppressing and distorting the truth, we protect our sensibilities and preserve our self-esteem.

Finding the reality of war too unpleasant to contemplate, we create a verbal alternative to that reality. The most shocking reality of war is that its victims are individual human beings, and that these individual human beings are condemned by politics to murder or be murdered in quarrels not their own, and to suffer cruelties of every kind.

The language of war is designed to conceal this reality, and to make it appear as though wars were not fought by individuals drilled to murder one another in cold blood and without provocation, but by impersonal and nonmoral forces or by abstractions.

Impersonal forces ("the Russians") or abstractions ("the enemy") are used for the purpose of concealing the fundamental absurdity and monstrosity of war. What is absurd about war is that men who have no personal quarrel should be trained to murder one another in cold blood. By personifying opposing armies and countries, we are able to think of war as a conflict between individuals. The same result is obtained by writing of war as though it was carried on exclusively by the generals in command and not by the private soldier in their armies. The implication in both cases is that war is no different than a fight in a barroom. In reality it is much different. A fight between two individuals is forgivable: mass murder, deliberately organized, is a monstrous act. Since the latter thought is hard for us to deal with emotionally, we imply that battles are not fought by soldiers, but by things, principles ("The Free World versus the Communists") or by opposing commanders.

Language is also used by politicians to arouse amongst the people such sentiments as pride and hatred, self-esteem and contempt for others. The trick is to dehumanize or depersonify the enemy – whoever it may be. Foreigners and those who disagree with us are not thought of as men and women like ourselves; they are thought of as symbols of a class of aliens. If these "aliens" have any personality at all, it is a personality that is, by definition, inherently evil. We know that the harming or killing of men and women is wrong, and we are reluctant consciously to do what we know to be wrong. But when particular men and women are thought of as merely representatives of a class (which has previously been defined as evil) and personified in the shape of the devil, then the reluctance to hurt or murder disappears. Brown, Jones, and Robinson are no longer thought of as Brown, Jones, and Robinson, but as heretics, atheists, kikes, niggers, barbarians, communists, capitalists, fascists, liberals – whichever the case may be.

When they have been called such names, Brown, Jones, and Robinson cease to be thought of as what they really are – human persons – and become for the users of this language of name-calling mere vermin or demons whom it is right and proper to destroy as thoroughly and as painfully as possible.

By robbing their enemies of their humanness, rulers of nations and leaders of political parties remove all questions of morality. Rulers find questions of right and wrong embarrassing. That is why they take such pains to depersonalize their opponents. All propaganda directed against an opposing group has but one aim: to substitute abstractions for concrete persons ("The Jew is draining the vitality of Germany".) The propagandist's purpose is to make one set of people forget that certain other sets of people are human. By robbing them of their personality, he avoids any question of moral obligation. Mere symbols can have no rights – especially when they are symbols of everything which is evil.

Taken from: Pp. 246-248, 254-255 "Words and Behavior" from *Collected Essays* by Aldous Huxley. Copyright 1937 by Aldous Huxley; renewed 1965 by Laura A. Huxley. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers. All rights reserved. Contact Harper & Row for permission to reprint multiple copies.

- Voltaire once said, "If we believe absurdities, we shall commit atrocities." This view has been echoed by Bohdan Wytwycky in his book, *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell*. The Novak Report, 1980.
  Distribute the following excerpt to students and ask them to discuss the dangers which exist when prejudices against an out-group place that group in jeopardy. According to Wytwycky, how does an out-group lose its right to exist? Have students identify historical examples in which groups have been dehumanized and then brutalized.

THE OTHER HOLOCAUST

Bohdan Wytwycky

Dehumanization may appear to be at the extreme end of a scale which includes prejudice and racism. Though there is some insight here, this appearance is dangerously misleading. For prejudice and racism are in fact the psychological cornerstones of dehumanization....

One of the effects of prejudice directed at whole categories of people is that it robs these people of their humanity. Made stereotypes of evil, stupidity and social disease, the victims are forced to travel the first leg of the journey to subhuman status. Made a depository of inferior or socially pathological traits, they receive a rude shove down the slippery slope to total dehumanization.

It is important to emphasize that prejudice and racism help to make mass brutalization possible, for it is easy under normal historical circumstances to acquire a false sense of security. The possibility of mass atrocities appears to be so remote that we are unlikely to pay serious attention to the budding of poisonous attitudes. However, given a sudden and traumatic shift in social conditions, dehumanization can easily develop its own deadly momentum if the ground for it is fertile.

- As a concluding activity for this topic, you might have students complete the following research and oral presentation activity.

Setting:

Your former sixth grade teacher has shown interest in your *Holocaust and Genocide* study. She feels that her students could profit from some information on "dehumanization" because it is one cause for cruelty toward others. You offer to visit her class one afternoon to explain "dehumanization" in terms that younger students would be able to understand.

Task:

Select a song, cartoon, or a newspaper article (or any combination) to illustrate your definition of "dehumanization." Using your example(s), prepare a short talk explaining what "dehumanization" is and how dangerous it can be.

Taken from: Bodhan Wytwycky. *The Other Holocaust*. 1980. pp. 15; 17-28. Reprinted by permission of the NOVAK REPORT, 425 – 13th Street, N.W., Suite 1012, Washington, DC 20004.

D. Conformity

Statement of Purpose:

Conformity plays an important part in the lives of all people. As we conform or adapt to the prevailing standards or customs of our peer groups or society, we give up a degree of our individuality. Students need to recognize the role conformity plays in their lives, and they need to realize the dangers involved in attempting to conform to existing norms and standards.

Objectives:

- Students will distinguish between individual conformity and group conformity;
- Students will recognize the beneficial as well as harmful aspects of conformity for the individual.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Read the children's story *Tootle the Engine* (Little Golden Book, story by Gertrude Crampton and pictures by Tibor Gergely) to the class.

  Ask students to discuss the following questions:

  – What was Tootle taught in the train school?
  – Why were the townspeople upset when Tootle left the track?
  – How did the townspeople convince Tootle that he must never leave the tracks again?
  – Is Tootle happier at the end of the story? Why or why not?
  – How does this story teach that conformity is a good thing?
  – Do you think that conformity is a good thing?
  – Ask students to write a short story which shows how nonconformity or conformity is a good thing.

- Joining a gang and conforming to the gang's value system may increase an individual's self-esteem and sense of self-identity. It may also aggravate already existing intergroup suspicions and hatreds.

  Have students listen to or read the lyrics of the "Jet Song" from Arthur Laurents, *West Side Story*. Then ask them to assume that they live on New York City's west side as they answer the following questions:

  – Why might you want to join the Jets?
  – What is life like for the Jets?
  – How does being a Jet make a little boy a man and a little man a king?
  – What does a member of the gang have to give up if he or she wants to stay a Jet?
  – Why would the leader of the Jets encourage his followers to hate the opposing gang?
  – How does the music heighten the song's message? Give specific examples.

  As an additional writing exercise, present students with the following situation and task:
  You have recently been initiated as a member of the Jets (as described in the "Jet Song" from *West Side Story*). You can hardly wait to write to your cousin, who lives in another city, informing him of your good news. Write a letter to your cousin describing the benefits of belonging to the Jets. Include some explanation of how your life has improved since you've become a Jet.

- Conduct a class survey to determine if students share common tastes in music, food, clothing, and entertainment. Ask students to think about how conformity results in both positive and negative side effects. Ask students if they agree that dressing and acting like everyone else can result in *thinking* like everyone else.

E. Obedience to Authority

Statement of Purpose:

Under normal circumstances, individuals rarely question or challenge those people in positions of authority – whether it be a parent, an older sibling, a supervisor, a police officer, or a superior officer in the armed forces. People in authority generally demand compliance with existing written or unwritten laws and obeying such "orders" is considered a sign that an individual has adapted to society. How else can a society function? However, students should be made aware that blind, unthinking obedience to authority figures may serve as a convenient rationale for the commission of immoral and inhuman acts. Students should be able to distinguish between reasoned and blind obedience to those people who hold positions of authority.

Objectives:

- Students will analyze such terms as obedience, authority, authoritarian, conditioned, mass movement, messianic leader, charisma, true believer, and manipulative;
- Students will recognize the difference between obedience and blind obedience to those people who hold positions of authority;
- Students will be able to identify who leads and who joins messianic movements;
- Students will recognize the process by which people are highly conditioned to accept authority.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Leaders often have a rationale for demanding the obedience of their subjects. Creon, the ruler of Thebes, presented the following argument:

If I allow disorder in my house
I'd surely have to license it abroad.
A man who deals in fairness with his own,
he can make manifest justice in the state.
But he who crosses law, or forces it,
or hopes to bring the rulers under him,
shall never have a word of praise from me.
The man the state has put in place must have
obedient hearing to his least command
when it is right, and even when it's not.
He who accepts this teaching I can trust,
ruler, or ruled, to function in his place,
to stand his ground even in the storm of spears,
a mate to trust in battle at one's side.
There is not greater wrong than disobedience.
This ruins cities, this tears down our homes,
this breaks the battle-front in panic-rout.
If men live decently it is because
discipline saves their very lives for them.
So I must guard the men who yield to order . . .

Ask students to study the statement by Creon and then discuss the following questions:

– Does Creon demand blind obedience of this subjects?

– Why would some people feel comfortable living in the city of Thebes?

– Why would some people feel uncomfortable living there?

- Recent research indicates that people in totalitarian as well as democratic societies are highly conditioned to do as they are told by authority figures. The following experiment by Stanley Milgram makes this point brutally clear.

Have the students read "Obedience to Authority" by Stanley Milgram and respond to the following questions:

– Describe how this experiment was conducted.
– What would you have done if the man in the gray technician's coat told you to give an electric shock to the learner? Why?
– Why do some people feel the results of the Milgram experiment are very frightening?

If possible, rent the film *Obedience* (see footnote on page 22 for ordering information). As you show the film, stop it at appropriate points to ask students what the "learner" *should* do and why.

OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY

Stanley Milgram

The experiment I set up was relatively simple: a person comes to the laboratory and, in the context of a learning experiment, he is told to give increasingly severe electric shocks to another person (who, unknown to the subject, is a confederate and does not actually receive the shocks). This arrangement gave me a chance to see how far people would go before they refused

to follow the experimenter's orders. But a fuller scenario is needed to grasp the flavor of the experiment.

Imagine you had answered an advertisement to take part in a study of learning, and are arriving at the university at the time agreed upon. First, you are greeted by a man in a gray technician's coat; he introduces you to a second volunteer and says you are both about to take part in a scientific experiment. He says it is to test whether the use of punishment improves the ability to learn.

You draw lots to see who is to be the teacher and who the learner. You turn out to be the teacher, and the other fellow, the learner. Then you see the learner strapped into a chair and electrodes placed on his wrist. You are told that, when the learner makes a mistake in the lesson, his punishment will be an electric shock.

As teacher, you are seated in front of an impressive-looking instrument, a shock generator. Its essential feature is a line of switches that range from 15 volts to 450 volts, and a set of written labels that goes from slight shock to moderate shock, strong shock, very strong shock, and so on through XXX-danger, severe shock.

Your job, the experimenter explains to you, is to teach the learner a simple word-pair test. You read a list of words to him, such as blue day, nice girl, fat neck, etc., and he has to indicate by means of an answer box which words were originally paired together. If he gets a correct answer, you move on to the next pair. But if he makes a mistake, you are instructed to give him an electric shock, starting with 15 volts.

Stanley Milgram. *Obedience to Authority*. 1976. Reprinted with permission from TV GUIDE (R) Magazine. Copyright (c) 1976 by Triangle Publications, Inc. Radnor, Pennsylvania.

Obedience, a 45 minute film of Milgram's experiment is available for school use from: The New York University Film Library, 26 Washington Place, New York, New York 10003. Tel. (212) 598-2250.

And you are told to increase the shock one step each time he makes an error. In the course of the experiment the "victim" emits cries of pain and demands to be set free, but the experimenter orders you to continue. The question is: How far will you proceed on the shock generator before you turn to the experimenter and refuse to go on?

Before carrying out the experiment, I wanted to know how people thought they would behave in this situation, and so I asked them to predict their own performance. I posed the question to several groups: psychiatrists, psychologists and ordinary workers. They all said virtually the same thing: almost no one would go to the end.

But in reality the results were very different. Despite the fact that many subjects experience stress, and protest to the experimenter, substantial proportion continue to the last shock on the generator. Many subjects obeyed the experimenter no matter how vehement the pleading of the person being shocked, no matter how painful the shocks seemed to be, and no matter how much the victim pleaded to be let out. This was seen time and again in our studies and has been observed in several universities where the experiment has been repeated.

But there is more to the experiment than this simple demonstration of obedience. Most of our energy went into systematically changing the factors in this situation to see which ones increased obedience and which led to greater defiance. We studied the effects of the closeness of the victim, the importance of the sponsoring institution and how the sight of other people obeying or defying an authority affected obedience. All of these factors have a powerful effect on whether the subjects obeyed or defied the malevolent authority. This shows that how a person behaves depends not only on his "character" but also on the precise situational pressures acting on him.

When the experiments were published, opinion about them was sharply divided. On the one hand, the American Association for the Advancement of Science awarded the work its annual socio-psychological prize. At the same time, the experiments attracted fierce criticism, centering mainly on the ethical issues of carrying out the research. The experiments that I had hoped would deepen our understanding of how people yield to authority became themselves the focus of controversy.

But the problem of authority remains. We cannot have society without some structure of authority, and every society must inculcate a habit of obedience in its citizens. Yet these experiments show that many people do not have the resources to resist authority, even when they are directed to act inhumanely against an innocent victim. The experiments pose anew the age-old problem: what is the correct balance between individual initiative and social authority? They illuminate in a concrete way what happens when obedience is unrestrained by conscience.

- When large numbers of people *blindly* follow the orders of a leader, they may become part of a messianic mass movement. Such a movement (although on a small scale) was created by Ron Jones, a California high school teacher. The description which follows tells how Jones was able to manipulate the minds and control the actions of 200 students. Have the students read "The Third Wave: Nazism in a High School" and respond to the following questions:
  - Why do you think that Jones's students were willing to be disciplined?
  - What did Jones invent to give the students the feelings that they were part of an important mass movement?
  - What did the students in the "Third Wave" learn?

– How far do you think you would have gone in accepting Jones's commands?

If possible, ask students to read the complete story about the "Third Wave," published in the spring 1976 *Co-Evolution Quarterly* by Ron Jones. A videotape or 16 mm film of the Third Wave entitled, "The Wave," is available from: The Program Source; 38285 West Twelve Mile Road; Farmington Hills, Michigan 48018.

THE THIRD WAVE: NAZISM IN A HIGH SCHOOL

Editors of *Psychology Today*

The Third Wave started as a learning experiment and ended five days later as a nightmare. Ron Jones was teaching his high school history class about Nazi Germany when a student asked the inevitable question: How could so many Germans claim they didn't know what was going on? How could so many neighbors and friends of Jewish families say they weren't even there when the family suddenly disappeared?

Jones decided to involve the class directly in finding the answer. He started the following Monday's class by introducing a key Nazi concept: discipline.

Jones demonstrated the pleasures and pains of discipline by having students sit in a new posture: feet flat on the floor, hands placed flat across the small of the back to keep the spine straight. "There, can't you breathe more easily? Don't you feel better?" The students practiced until they could move in a few seconds from standing outside the classroom to sitting at attention.

Jones wondered how far he could push unquestioning obedience. He introduced new rules, including one stating that students must stand beside their desks when asking or answering questions, and must always start by saying, "Mr. Jones." All answers were to be crisp and short.

Soon everyone started popping up with questions and answers, even the usually hesitant pupils, and Jones wondered what was happening. As a strong believer in the open classroom and self-directed learning, he had deliberately created an authoritarian environment and was shocked when it worked. Students were responding accurately and asking better questions. They even seemed more cooperative.

When Jones entered the classroom Tuesday, everyone was sitting at attention. A few students were smiling, but most were staring rigidly ahead. He went to the blackboard and wrote in big letters: STRENGTH THROUGH DISCIPLINE, and below it STRENGTH THROUGH COMMUNITY. Jones had the students chant the slogans over and over. Near the end of the period, he created a salute for class members right hand raised to the shoulder, fingers curled. He called it the Third Wave because the curled fingers looked vaguely like a wave about to top, the third because beach lore says the third wave is the largest.

For the rest of the day, in the halls and classrooms, Jones and his students exchanged the Third Wave salute. On Wednesday morning 13 curious students cut their regular classes to join the 30 regular Third Wavers in Jones's study of Nazi Germany. Jones issued membership cards to the 43 students and assigned three students to report any members not complying with class rules. The assignment proved unnecessary. On Wednesday alone, students came to Jones with news of students not saluting, criticizing the experiment, or being uncooperative in other ways.

Thursday morning Jones walked into his class now grown to 80 students and announced, "the real reason for the Third Wave." It wasn't just a classroom experiment, but a nationwide program "to find students willing to fight for political change." Jones said that at noon the next day a presidential candidate would appear on national television and announce the Third Wave program. There would be a special rally in the high school auditorium to watch the announcement – a rally for Third Wave members only.

By noon Friday the auditorium was jammed with more than 200 students. Jones closed the doors and posted guards to keep everyone else out. Just before noon, Jones walked to the front of the auditorium and asked the audience to "demonstrate the extent of our training." He saluted, and 200 arms rose in reply. He shouted, "Strength Through Discipline" again and again, and each time the response got louder and louder.

At 12:05 Jones turned off the lights, walked to the TV set and clicked it on. Everyone stared at the flickering tube, the only light in the room. Minutes dragged by, 12:07, 12:08, 12:09. Suddenly a student yelled out, "There isn't any leader, it there?" The others looked at him, disbelieving, and turned to Jones. He switched off the set and started to speak:

"Listen closely....There is no such thing as a national youth movement called the Third Wave. You've been used, manipulated, shoved by your own desires to where you are now. You're no better or worse than the German Nazis we've been studying. You thought you were the elect – better than those outside this room. You bargained your freedom for the comfort of discipline. . . . Oh, you think you were just going along for the fun, that you could extricate yourself at any moment. But where were you heading? How far would you have gone?"

- As a concluding exercise for this section on obedience to authority, provide students with

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the following role play activity. Either discuss with students or have students role play the following values dilemma.

Values Dilemma:

You have recently been promoted by a fast-food restaurant chain to be assistant manager of an active restaurant near your home. This after-school job pays very well and offers excellent opportunities for work experience and advancement. After a few weeks on the job, however, you notice that the maintenance people on your staff are using a chemical cleaner that you suspect could be harmful to their lungs if inhaled. After checking your facts with your chemistry teacher and with your family physician, you find that you are correct. Next, you direct the maintenance staff to use an alternate cleaner and you inform your supervisor. His reaction shocks you. He insists that you continue to direct the maintenance staff to use the harmful chemical because of its lower cost and its efficiency. Your supervisor added that he would take responsibility if anything happened to the workers. At this point, you say nothing, but realize that you must think things over. You risk losing your job if you persist in this matter.

After reading the dilemma, students might then role play the discussion which takes place in one or more of the following situations:

1) You again inform your supervisor that the chemical cleaner is harmful if inhaled.
2) You inform your parents that you just lost your job.
3) You discuss the situation with a good friend in order to seek advice before you act.

Have students discuss why they should either report or not report their supervisor to the appropriate local health authorities.

Unit II. Precursors of the Holocaust

Statement of Purpose:

Although the history of Europe has many chapters which include the discrimination and persecution of various minority groups, there were specific changes in the 19th and 20th centuries that paved the way for genocide. In the Nazi Holocaust, the concept of race and the scientific trappings of racial theory were ultimately used to justify the extermination of Jews, Poles, Gypsies, and other groups of people. Ethnic or national prejudice and hatred also served as a justification for mass killing in the Nazi Holocaust and the Armenian massacres. Thus far, prejudice, scapegoating, and the discrimination have been dealt with. This section examines the precursors to the Holocaust – both in theory and in practice.

Objectives:

- Students will explore some of the anti-Semitic trends in history that provide a basis for Nazi thought and action;
- Students will analyze the steps which lead from prejudice to the destruction of a group;
- Students will analyze the steps in the process of genocide;
- Students will investigate how racist doctrines are often made to appear more legitimate through religious and scientific rationalizations and thus appeal to many people;
- Students will analyze the transition of 19th century racist thought from traditional anti-Jewish thought to Nazi racial anti-Semitism.

A. Genocidal Theories

Statement of Purpose:

Students need to understand the basis for the concept of genocide and make connections between that concept and the Nazi Holocaust and the deportations and massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during World War I.

Objectives:

- Students will examine the relationship between "applied" racial prejudice and genocide;
- Students will draw some preliminary conclusions regarding preconditions which can lead to genocide.

Learning Activities and Student Materials

- Write the following words on the chalkboard:

murder	liquidation	execution
slaughter	decimation	persecution
pogrom	extermination	mass murder
killing	holocaust	assassination
genocide	euthanasia	terrorism
massacre	deportation	

Have students discuss what they think these terms mean; then have the class establish a definition for each. Ask students:

- –Why do you think these terms were listed together?
- –To what extent are the words interchangeable? (To what extent aren't they?)

Now have students or small groups of students try to place these words in groups or categories. Students should be able to state reasons for their groupings.

Discuss with students:

- –To what extent are there gradations in the meaning of these words?
- –Why might scholars be deeply concerned with the precise definitions for these words?
- –For the individual victims, how valid are these distinctions?

- Have students examine Handout A-1 which establishes a definition for *genocide*. Have students use the Genocide Convention to establish criteria for genocide. Ask students to respond to the following questions:
  - –What is genocide? What is not genocide?
  - –Do you agree with the Genocide Convention?
  - –To what extent do you think there is a need for a Genocide Convention?

Handout A-1

The Genocide Convention

The Convention on Genocide, approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9 December 1948, defines the crime of genocide as follows:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Taken from: Leo Kuper. *Genocide* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 19.

B. Pseudoscientific Racism

Statement of Purpose:

The architects of genocide justify their actions in terms of purging their respective nations of unbelievers or of political dissidents. Historically, however, there have been loopholes for those who fell into these categories. Religious and political conversion were traditionally options. Genocide demanded a categorization based on something stronger than belief or custom. In the case of the Nazi Holocaust, pseudoscientific racism provided that category and that justification. It transformed revolutionary theory into the myth of inferior and superior races and asserted that personality and character traits were not only biologically determined, but were group characteristics.

Objectives:

- Students will describe the origins of pseudoscientific racial thought;
- Students will prepare definitions for the concept of race;
- Students will explain how "racial theories" were used to discriminate against different ethnic, cultural, and national groups.

Learning Activities and Student Materials

- Beginning in the late 1700s, racist thinking was used by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists to define various ethnic and national groups. These social scientists attempted to define the concept of race by using a collection of variables including: physical, geographic, legal, religious, cultural, and economic differentiations. In a book published in 1915 entitled *The Inequality of Human Races*, by Arthur DeGobineau, DeGobineau presented one of the earliest "scientific" arguments for racial differentiations. The purpose for these racist arguments was to demonstrate the superiority of the "white" races and the inferiority of the "yellow" and "black" races. Other social scientists elaborated on these early writings by identifying distinctions between ethnic and national groups within each racial grouping.
- Students should understand that these early racial thinkers' arguments were not based on scientific analyses at all but rather on the opinions, prejudices and observations of the various authors. DeGobineau, for example, classified humans into three races, black, yellow and white. For nationalistic and political purposes, he placed the black race lowest, the white race highest, and the yellow race in between. He opposed "mixing" the blood of the races. Professor T. Peisker, in a chapter published in 1913 in *The Cambridge Medieval History, Volume II* entitled "The Expansion of the Slavs," focused on distinctions between the Slavic and German peoples within the white "race." Peisker's analysis attempted to use scientific and observational data to "prove" the superiority of the Germans and the inferiority of the Slavic peoples. As students study the following two readings by DeGobineau and Peisker, be sure that they understand that these authors were using pseudo- scientific arguments to support *false* differentiations between humans. Students should conclude that when we classify, categorize, and label people for the purpose of ranking them, the "lowest" peoples become easy targets for discrimination, and even for destruction or elimination.
- After reading the two selections, have students discuss the following questions:

THE INEQUALITY OF HUMAN RACES

- How did DeGobineau define "race"?
- According to DeGobineau, how are different "races" unequal?
- What did DeGobineau say about racial intermixture?
- Who were the Aryans?

THE EXPANSION OF THE SLAVS"

- How did Professor Peisker describe the "Polesie," the homeland of the Slavs? How did the Slavs make a living?
- How did Peisker characterize the Slavic people? How did he compare them to the Germans?
- This material from the *Cambridge Medieval History, Volume II* was published in 1913, while the reading by DeGobineau was printed in 1915. Ask students to discuss how both authors reflected the racist thinking of that time. How did Peisker's description of the Slavs reinforce the concepts of race, racial differentiation, and racial hierarchy? Students should compare the racist arguments presented by DeGobineau and Peisker with the Nazi anti-Semitic and anti-Slavic writings presented in Unit III ("Nazi Thought").

Handout B-1

THE INEQUALITY OF HUMAN RACES

Arthur De Gobineau

CHAPTER XVI

RECAPITULATION: THE RESPECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE GREAT RACES: THE SUPERIORITY OF THE WHITE TYPE, AND, WITHIN THIS TYPE, OF THE ARYAN FAMILY

I have shown the unique place in the organic world occupied by the human species, the profound physical, as well as moral, differences separating it from all other kinds of living creatures. Considering it by itself, I have been able to distinguish, on physiological grounds alone, three great and clearly marked types, the black, the yellow, and the white. However uncertain the aims of physiology may be, however meager its resources, however defective its methods, it can proceed thus far with absolute certainty.

The negroid variety is the lowest, and stands at the foot of the ladder. The animal character, that appears in the shape of the pelvis, is stamped on the negro from birth, and foreshadows his destiny. His intellect will always move within a very narrow circle. He is not however a mere brute, for behind his low receding brow, in the middle of his skull, we can see signs of a powerful energy, however crude its objects. If his mental faculties are dull or even non-existent, he often has an intensity of desire, and so of will, which may be called terrible. Many of his senses, especially taste and smell, are developed to an extent unknown to the other two races . . . .

The yellow race is the exact opposite of this type. The skull points forward, not backward. The forehead is wide and bony, often high and projecting. The shape of the face is triangular, the nose and chin showing none of the coarse protuberances that mark the negro. There is further a general proneness to obesity, which, though not confined to the yellow type, is found there more frequently than in the others. The yellow man has little physical energy, and is inclined to apathy; he commits none of the strange excesses so common among negroes. His desires are feeble, his will-power rather obstinate than violent; his longing for material pleasures, though constant, is kept within bounds. A rare glutton by nature, he shows far more discrimination in his choice of food. He tends to mediocrity in everything; he understands easily enough anything not too deep or sublime. He has a love of utility and a respect for order, and knows the value of a certain amount of freedom. He is practical, in the narrowest sense of the word. He does not dream or theorize; he invents little, but can appreciate and take over what is useful to him. His whole desire is to live in the easiest and most comfortable way possible. The yellow races are thus clearly superior to the black. Every founder of a civilization would wish the backbone of his society, his middle class, to consist of such men. But no civilized society could be created by them; they could not supply its nerve-force, or set in motion the springs of beauty and action.

We come now to the white peoples. These are gifted with reflective energy, or rather with an energetic intelligence. They have a feeling for utility, but in a sense far wider and higher, more courageous and ideal, than the yellow races; a perseverance that takes account of obstacles and ultimately finds a means of overcoming them; a greater physical power, an extraordinary instinct for order, not merely as a guarantee of peace and tranquillity, but as an indispensable means of self-preservation. At the same time, they have a remarkable, and even extreme, love of liberty, and are openly hostile to the formalism under which the Chinese are glad to vegetate, as well as to the strict despotism which is the only way of governing the negro.

The white races are, further, distinguished by an extraordinary attachment to life. They know better how to use it, and so, as it would seem, set a greater price on it; both in their own persons and those of others, they are more sparing of life. When they are cruel, they are conscious of their cruelty; it is very doubtful whether such a consciousness exists in the negro. At the same time, they have discovered reasons why they should surrender this busy life of theirs, that is so precious to them. The principal motive is honour, which under various names has played an enormous part in the ideas of the race from the beginning. I need hardly add that the word honour, together with all the civilizing influences connoted by it, is unknown to both the yellow and the black man. . . .

. . .

It would be unjust to assert that every mixture is bad and harmful. If the three great types had remained strictly separate, the supremacy would no doubt have always been in the hands of the finest of the white races, and the yellow and black varieties would have crawled for ever at the feet of the lowest of the whites. Such a state is so far ideal, since it has never been beheld in history; and we can imagine it only by recognizing the undisputed superiority of those groups of the white races which have remained the purest.

It would not have been all gain. The superiority of the white race would have been clearly shown, but it would have been bought at the price of certain advantages which have followed the mixture of blood. Although these are far from counterbalancing the defects they have brought in their

Taken from: Arthur De Gobineau. *The Inequality of Human Races* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, MCMXV). Reprinted by permission of the Putnam Publishing Company.

Handout B-1 (cont.)

train, yet they are sometimes to be commended. Artistic genius, which is equally foreign to each of the three great types, arose only after the intermarriage of white and black. Again, in the Malayan variety, a human family was produced from the yellow and black races that had more intelligence than either of its ancestors. Finally, from the union of white and yellow, certain intermediary peoples have sprung, who are superior to the purely Finnish tribes as well as to the negroes . . .

. . .

However it has come about, the human races, as we find them in history, are complex; and one of the chief consequences has been to throw into disorder most of the primitive characteristics of each type. The good as well as the bad qualities are seen to diminish in intensity with repeated intermixture of blood; but they also scatter and separate off from each other, and are often mutually opposed. The white race originally possessed the monopoly of beauty, intelligence, and strength. By its union with other varieties, hybrids were created, which were beautiful without strength, strong without intelligence, or, if intelligent, both weak and ugly. Further, when the quantity of white blood increased to an indefinite amount by successive infusions, and not by a single admixture, it no longer carried with it its natural advantages, and often merely increased the confusion already existing in the racial elements. Its strength, in fact, seemed to be its only remaining quality, and even its strength served only to promote disorder. The apparent anomaly is easily explained. Each stage of a perfect mixture produces a new type from diverse elements, and develops special faculties. As soon as further elements are added, the vast difficulty of harmonizing the whole creates a state of anarchy. The more this increases, the more do even the best and richest of the new contributions diminish in value, and by their mere presence add fuel to an evil which they cannot abate. If mixtures of blood are, to a certain extent, beneficial to the mass of mankind, if they raise and ennoble it, this is merely at the expense of mankind itself, which is stunted, abased, enervated, and humiliated in the persons of its noblest sons. Even if we admit that it is better to turn a myriad of degraded beings into mediocre men than to preserve the race of princes whose blood is adulterated and impoverished by being made to suffer this dishonourable change, yet there is still the unfortunate fact that the change does not stop here; for when the mediocre men are once created at the expense of the greater, they combine with other mediocrities, and from such unions, which grow ever more and more degraded, is born a confusion which, like that of Babel, ends in uttere (sic) impotence, and leads societies down to the abyss of nothingness whence no power on earth can rescue them.

Such is the lesson of history. It shows us that all civilizations derive from the white race, that none can exist without its help, and that a society is great and brilliant only so far as it preserves the blood of the noble group that created it, provided that this group itself belongs to the most illustrious branch of our species.

Of the multitude of peoples which live or have lived on the earth, ten alone have risen to the position of complete societies. The remainder have gravitated round these more or less independently, like planets round their suns. If there is any element of life in these ten civilizations that is not due to the impulse of the white races, any seed of death that does not come from the inferior stocks that mingled with them, then the whole theory on which this book rests is false. On the other hand, if the facts are as I say, then we have an irrefragable proof of the nobility of our own species. Only the actual details can set the final seal of truth on my system, and they alone can show with sufficient exactness the full implications of my main thesis, that peoples degenerate only in consequence of the various admixtures of blood which they undergo; that their degeneration corresponds exactly to the quantity and quality of the new blood, and that the rudest possible shock to the vitality of a civilization is given when the ruling elements in a society and those developed by racial change have become so numerous that they are clearly moving away from the homogeneity necessary to their life, and it therefore becomes impossible for them to be brought into harmony and so acquire the common instincts and interests, the common logic of existence, which is the sole justification for any social bond whatever. There is no greater curse than such disorder, for however bad it may have made the present state of things, it promises still worse for the future.

NOTE – The "ten civilizations" mentioned in the last paragraph are as follows. They are fully discussed in the subsequent books of the "Inequality of Races," of which the present volume forms the first.

I. The Indian civilization, which reached its highest point around the Indian Ocean, and in the north and east of the Indian Continent, south-east of the Brahmaputra. It arose from a branch of a white people, the Aryans.

II. The Egyptians, round whom collected the Ethiopians, the Nubians, and a few smaller peoples to the west of the oasis of Ammon. This society was created by an Aryan colony from India, that settled in the upper valley of the Nile.

III. The Assyrians, with whom may be classed the Jews, the Phoenicians, the Lydians, the Carthaginians, and the Hymiarites. They owed their

Handout B-1 (cont.)

civilizing qualities to the great white invasions which may be grouped under the name of the descendants of Shem and Ham. The Zoroastrian Iranians who ruled part of Central Asia under the names of Medes, Persians, and Bactrians, were a branch of the Aryan family.

IV. The Greeks, who came from the same Aryan stock, as modified by Semitic elements.

V. The Chinese civilization, arising from a cause similar to that operating in Egypt. An Aryan colony from India brought the light of civilization to China also. Instead however of becoming mixed with black peoples, as on the Nile, the colony became absorbed in Malay and yellow races, and was reinforced, from the north-west, by a fair number of white elements, equally Aryan but no longer Hindu.

VI. The ancient civilization of the Italian peninsula, the cradle of Roman culture. This was produced by a mixture of Celts, Iberians, Aryans, and Semites.

VII. The Germanic races, which in the fifth century transformed the Western mind. These were Aryans.

VIII.-X. The three civilizations of America, the Alleghanian, the Mexican, and the Peruvian.

Of the first seven civilizations, which are those of the Old World, six belong, at least in part, to the Aryan race, and the seventh, that of Assyria, owes to this race the Iranian Renaissance, which is, historically, its best title to fame. Almost the whole of the Continent of Europe is inhabited at the present time by groups of which the basis is white, but in which the non-Aryan elements are the most numerous. There is no true civilization, among the European peoples, where the Aryan branch is not predominant.

In the above list no negro race is seen as the initiator of a civilization. Only when it is mixed with some other can it even be initiated into one.

Similarly, no spontaneous civilization is to be found among the yellow races; and when the Aryan blood is exhausted stagnation supervenes.

HANDOUT B-2
CHAPTER XIV.

THE EXPANSION OF THE SLAVS
Professor T. Peisker

"The Balto-Slavs have no expressions for beech ... larch ... yew ... but they have a word for hornbeam .... Therefore their original home must have been within the hornbeam zone but outside the three other tree-zones, ... Hence *Polesie* the marshland traversed by the Pripet ... must be the original homeland of the Slavs." (p. 418)

"... the boundary of the hornbeam forms an extended curve embracing the *Polesie*. The reason for this curve is the temperate climate of *Polesie* which results from the enormous marches and is favourable to the hornbeam ... according to a tradition the Goths in their migration from the Vistula to the Pontus about the end of the second century A.D. came to a bottomless marchland ... where many of them perished." (p. 419)

"Notwithstanding the mild climate, the land is unhealthy: the putrefying marsh develops miasmatic gases causing the epidemic lung and throat diseases, and the loathsome elf-lock ... and the swarms of gnats cause intermittent fever ... the marsh has had a degenerating effect." (p. 420)

"... the treacherous marsh is invincible ... (within the marsh there was) a low grade of civilization (where) the stranger is an enemy, and they had no kind of political, territorial or social cohesion...." (p. 420)

"In agriculture and diet the ancient Slavs entirely differed from the Germans .... *Polesie* was unsuited to cattle .... Even now, ... the peasant's cow is a miserable animal, giving very little milk and chiefly retained for draught purposes .... Hence milk as a common article of diet was unknown to the ancient Slavs, so that they had no words of their own for *cattle, heavy plough, milk, curd* and such-like, but had to borrow from German and Altaian sources." (pp. 422-423)

"... very little grain is produced ... but the manna- grass ...which is sweeter and still more nutritious than millet, grows there wild in abundance ... and it probably served the ancient Slavs as food." (p. 423)

"*Polesie* was rich in big game ... and in fur-coated animals .... But imperfect weapons and difficulty of the country made hunting not very productive, so that there was little game as food." (p. 423)

"In our first volume it was shown how the salt-desert zone of the Asiatic background developed the wild mounted nomad. Here we have a second example of the great natural law that a people is and remains what its land of origin has made it ... the Slav is the son and product of the marsh." (pp. 425-426)

"The Slav ... was a soft anvil .... (A) weighty hammer (the Germans) came into play and the anvil was beaten flat." (p. 426)

"Dry forest land makes its inhabitants stronger, but the marsh has a degenerating influence ... the unwarlike inhabitants of the marshland can conquer nothing, and can only spread gradually where they meet no resistance .... The Germanic migration was eruptive as a volcano, the Slavonic a gradual percolation...." (p. 426)

"During the second or third century A.D. the Sarmatian hordes were driven out by the German Goths and Heruli. The Gothic domination lasted over two centuries .... The Goths were the most magnificent German people, and their influence on the Slavs must have been enormous." (p. 428)

"... Huns, Bulgars, Avars, Chazars, Magyars, Patzinaks, Cumans, Mongols (in succession) ... extirpated the Slavonic peasantry ... so that the Slavs were forced to ... withdraw (back) into the marshes of *Polesie*." (p. 428)

"King Wencelas I (1230-1253), who was German in feeling, was ashamed of his origins, causing his peasant kinsmen to be driven from Staditzi and giving the village to the Germans." (p. 450)

"... that the Slavs ... became effective warriors ... runs counter to the facts ... among the millions of Slavs who flooded Germany ... we do not find the name of even one moderately prominent warrior .... The earliest prominent personality ... and the most prominent Slav prince, the Russian Svyatoslav (died 972), was in spite of his Slav name a pure-blooded German ... and one of the greatest German heroes in history." (p. 453)

- Provide students with copies of "The Nordic Man" and ask them to list the most common characteristics of this ideal "Nordic" person. Have students compare this reading with the DeGobineau and Peisker selections. Ask students to discuss how these authors use pseudo-scientific arguments to discriminate against different ethnic, cultural, and national groups. Have students refer to Unit I, C. "Prejudicial Attitudes" and describe how this reading by Hermann Gauch helped to reinforce stereotypes and to foster the notion of Nordic (German) superiority. Ask students why Germans living in the 1930s might have believed this racist propaganda. How did Gauch attempt to dehumanize non-Nordics?

Taken from: T. Peisker. "The Expansion of the Slavs," *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, Chapter XIV (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1913), pp. 418-20, 422-23, 425-26, 428, 450-51, 453. Used by permission of Cambridge University Press.

HANDOUT B-3

THE NORDIC (GERMAN) MAN
Hermann Gauch

The Nordic (German) does not speak much. The people of other races talk a lot, and what they say is unimportant, without judgment, and untrue....

The Nordic chews his food with the mouth closed, by grinding movement of the jaws, whereas other races tend to chew with a smacking noise like animals, owing to the pressing movement of the jaws and the repeated opening of the mouth.

The usual form of the Nordic mouth...is a friendly and happy smile.

The crouching bodily position of the non-Nordic shows lying-in-wait, (treachery), and cunning attack....

The head of the Nordic "great man" expresses the "great mind"....

The Nordic is superior. The non-Nordic thus occupies an intermediate place between the Nordic and the animal and ranks next to the man-apes. He is, therefore, not a hundred per-cent human being....He might be compared with the Neanderthal man, but a better and more accurate description is "sub-man."

The Nordic and the non-Nordic races have not a single characteristic in common. We are not justified, therefore, in speaking of a "human race." As a matter of fact there are actually some animals which have Nordic characteristics, such as the faithfulness of the dog, which is lacking in the non-Nordic.

The swelled chest of the Nordic expresses his bravery and love of freedom....

The walk of the non-Nordic is cow-like. The non-Nordic waddles along and swings from one side to the other like a duck.

To "talk with hands and feet" is typical of the non-Nordic, whereas the Nordic stands quiet when speaking. He may even put his hands into his pockets.

The Nordic women have fine figures, while with other races this is not true. There the male is more beautiful, as in the animal world.

The white of the eye is pure white in the Nordic race only; that of the non-Nordic is blurred.

The Nordic has a feeling for cleanliness, while the non-Nordic always lives in dirt when he is among his own people. Many of the animals even stand high above him so far as cleanliness is concerned....

Nordic man is, therefore, the creator of all culture and civilization. The salvation and preservation of the Nordic man alone will save and preserve culture and civilization. Lasting success can, of course, be achieved only through the unification of the whole Nordic humanity of the Germanic countries and a number of other strongly Nordic areas.

- Have students read this selection from a textbook written for German high school students in 1962 that provides a summary of European race doctrine of the nineteenth century. After reading the article, ask students to summarize the origins of early racial thinking. Have students explain how racial doctrines were used to classify and label different groups of people. Ask students to speculate on how these early racial doctrines might be used to discriminate against different ethnic or cultural groups. Have students speculate on how they would refute these pseudoscientific racial arguments.

Adapted from: Hermann Gauch. *New Foundations of Racial Science*, translated and excerpted in *Friends of Europe* (London: December, 1934).

HANDOUT B-4

NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPEAN RACE DOCTRINE

Hannah Vogt

Then, however, the unexpected happened. It appeared as if people in Europe could not free themselves from old, deeply rooted hatreds. Since the old religious rationalizations were no more modern or progressive, they searched for new ones, and found them in the "race doctrine." This doctrine had originated with the natural sciences that had brought about the great technological progress of the nineteenth century. But instead of working with reliable scientific methods, it brought forth arbitrary evaluations, and, from the very start, turned into a pseudo-science. Charles Darwin derived the origin of animal species from the "struggle for existence," which the stronger or better adapted species survives while the weak or poorly adapted species perishes.

On this basis, people were now being subdivided into various sub-species, called "races," a concept previously used only in animal husbandry. In the absence of precise taxonomic standards each scientist had the field for himself. Some distributed people among three, others among five, twenty, or more races and sub-races.

If these scientists had limited themselves to categorizing physical characteristics, their doctrines would have been innocuous. They claimed, however, that physical characteristics were correlated with certain intellectual and psychological characteristics. Thus the French Count Gobineau declared those people grouped together as "Aryans" by philologists on the basis of language similarities, to be a separate race. He claimed that this race alone was creative, intelligent, and dynamic. Negroes, however, he considered as cowardly, insensitive, easily excitable, and of mediocre intelligence.

Such "scientific" results, of course, flattered the pride of the European, who just at that time was preparing to extend his rule over the entire globe. Scientifically, this evidence was zero. Not one scrap of conclusive evidence has ever been put forward to prove that millions of members of one particular race are endowed with like intellectual and psychological characteristics. Any unprejudiced observer can see that all groups include intelligent and stupid people, lazy and diligent ones, courageous and cowardly men, the brilliant and the dull. Such differences appear even in small families whose members probably resemble each other physically.

- *The Racists' Decalogue* was circulated during the early twentieth century. This document was authored by Theodor Fritsch, who was instrumental in circulating the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Provide students with a copy of the *Decalogue* and ask small groups of students to answer the following questions:
  - List the qualities attributed to the Jew in this document. List those of the Germans. What conclusions can you draw from these lists?
  - Why does the author think Germans need a defense against Jews? (This question provides an opportunity to show students that Jews were regarded as enemies, aliens, etc.)
  - Discuss why the author has the *Decalogue* (Catechism) format. (It now becomes a religious and moral obligation to be anti-Semitic).

Have students refer to the Decalogue again when they study about the Nuremberg Laws in Unit III -D. As a concluding writing activity, provide students with the following situation and task.

Situation:

You are a university student living in Leipzig in 1893. On your way from class, a decently dressed young man hands you a flier entitled, *The Racists' Decalogue* by Fritsch. As you read it carefully, you stiffen with anger. You immediately vow to write a rebuttal to the *Decalogue*.

Task:

Write a political flier refuting some or all of the directives in the *Decalogue*. Indicate your outrage as one of the following:

1) a Jew
2) a Christian who has been nurtured and taught by Jewish teachers
3) a religious liberal who detests all racism.

Taken from: *The Burden of Guilt: A Short History of Germany, 1914-1945* by Hannah Vogt. Copyright (c) 1964 by Oxford University Press, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

HANDOUT B-5

THE RACISTS' DECALOGUE
TEN GERMAN COMMANDMENTS OF LAWFUL SELF-DEFENSE

Theodor Fritsch
Antisemiten-Katechismus
(Leipzig, 1893)

I. Be proud of being a German and strive earnestly and steadily to practice the inherited virtues of our people, courage, faithfulness, and veracity, and to inspire and develop these virtues in thy children.

II. Thou shalt know that thou, together with all thy fellow Germans, regardless of faith or creed, hast a common implacable foe. His name is Jew.

III. Thou shalt keep thy blood pure. Consider it a crime to soil the noble Aryan breed of thy people by mingling it with the Jewish breed. For thou must know that Jewish blood is everlasting, putting the Jewish stamp on body and soul unto the farthest generations.

IV. Thou shalt be helpful to thy fellow German and further him in all matters not counter to the German conscience, the more so if he be pressed by a Jew. Thou shalt at once take into court any offense or crime committed by the Jew in deed, word, or letter, that comes to thy knowledge, lest the Jew abuse the laws of our country with impunity.

V. Thou shalt have no social intercourse with the Jew. Avoid all contact and community with the Jew and keep him away from thyself and thy family, especially thy daughters, lest they suffer injury of body and soul.

VI. Thou shalt have no business relations with the Jew. Never choose a Jew as a business partner, nor borrow nor buy from him, and keep your wife, too, from doing so. Thou shalt sell nothing to him, nor use him as an agent in the transactions, that thou mayest remain free and not become slave unto the Jew nor help to increase his money, which is the power by which he enslaves our people.

VII. Thou shalt drive the Jew from thy breast and take no example from Jewish tricks and Jewish wiles, for thou shalt never match the Jew in trickery but forfeit thy honor and earn the contempt of thy fellow Germans and the punishment of the courts.

VIII. Thou shalt not entrust thy rights to a Jewish lawyer, not thy body to a Jewish physician, nor thy children to a Jewish teacher, lest thy honor, body, and soul suffer harm.

IX. Thou shalt not lend ear nor give credence to the Jew. Keep away all Jewish writings from thy German home and hearth lest their lingering poison may unnerve and corrupt thyself and thy family.

X. Thou shalt use no violence against the Jews because it is unworthy of thee and against the law. But if a Jew attack thee, ward off his Semitic violence with German wrath.

Taken from: Paul W. Massing. *Rehearsal for Destruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1949). pp. 306-307. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row Publishers, Inc.

C. Technological Aspects of Genocide

Statement of Purpose:

Genocide is not solely a twentieth century phenomenon. Modern technology, however, has streamlined mass murder and has honed human destructive potential to inconceivable levels of efficiency and horror. Not only have actual instruments of destruction, death and disposal been transformed, but modern bureaucracy has further facilitated mass killing and now allows perpetrators to be isolated from victims.

Objectives:

- Students will develop an increased awareness of the destructive power of twentieth century technology;
- Students will analyze the relationship between modern technology and genocide;
- Students will investigate the ways technology can be used not only to implement genocide but to justify it.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- A very fine line exists between technology and our destructive potential. People may be no more vicious today than in the past, but our ability to slaughter large numbers of people in a rapid and efficient manner has greatly expanded.
  Have students examine and analyze Handout C-1. In this activity students analyze the impact of certain major technological advances upon political events. As students study this timeline, have them respond to the following questions:
  - How did the invention of the submarine and the airplane change the way World War I was fought?
  - How did the invention of radar and the atomic bomb alter the way World War II was fought?
  - How did the invention of napalm change the way the Vietnam War was conducted?
  - How might the invention of railroads, telegraphs, bulldozers, and poison gas be used to implement genocidal policies?
  - To what extent does modern propaganda depend upon twentieth century technological advances?
  - How might the invention of the typewriter, linotype, and the teleprinter be used by the perpetrators of genocide to shape and mold public opinion regarding genocide?

  Have students develop interconnection charts using some of the technological developments identified in Handout C-1. Have students place one of the technological advances in the center of a large sheet of paper. Then students should be encouraged to think of as many ways as possible that a given technological development can be applied to war and genocide. Each new application becomes a new spoke on the wheel surrounding the technological development.

- In order to allow students to analyze the implications of the relationship between technology and genocide in greater depth, have them examine the readings in Handout C-2. As they study these selections, ask them to develop written responses to the following questions:
  - What evidence is there that attitudes regarding destruction and death have altered as technology has increased the capacity for massive deaths?
  - To what extent does this technological potential foster dehumanization?
  - How does technology remove perpetrators from the reality and consequences of their acts?
  - How did technological advances foster genocidal behavior?

HANDOUT C-1

Technology/Conflicts Timeline

Conflicts	Year	Technology
Civil wars in Lebanon and Central America (1983-present) Iran-Iraqi War (1980)	1980	Proposed star wars weapons systems (1984)
Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979-present) Yom Kippur War (1973) Bangladesh (1971)	1970	Home computers/video games (1980) Human space travel (1977)
Six Day War (1967) Ibo Massacres (1966-1968) Vietnam War (1965-1973) Hutu Massacres (1962-1972) Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)	1960	Manned moon landing (1969) Spacecraft moon landing (1968) Synthetic DNA (1967) Telstar satellite (1962) Laser (1960)
Cuban Revolution (1958) Arab-Israeli War (1956) Korean War (1950-1953)	1950	Earth satellite (1957) Nuclear-powered submarine (1954) Hydrogen bomb (1952)
World War II (1939-1945) Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) Ethiopian war (1935) Nazi Holocaust (1933-1945)	1940	Transistor (1948) Atomic bomb (1945) Ballistic missile (1944) Digital computer (1944) Napalm (1942) Nuclear reactor (1942)
Nazi Holocaust (1933-1945) Forced Famine in Ukraine (1931-1933)	1930	Xerography (1938) Radar (1935) Jet propulsion engine (1930)
	1920	First transatlantic flight (1927) Liquid fuel rocket (1926) Television (1923) First general radio broadcast (1920)

HANDOUT C-1 (cont.)

Conflicts	Year	Technology
Russian Revolution (1917) Armenian Massacres (1915-1916) World War I (1914-1918) Balkan Wars (1912-1913) Chinese Revolution (1911-1912)	1910	Assembly line (1914)
Armenian Massacres (1909)	1900	First telegraphic transmission of a picture (1904) Airplane (1903)
Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) Boxer Rebellion (1900)		
Boer War (1899-1902) Spanish American War (1898) Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)	1890	Airship (1898) Teleprinter (1897) Radio (1896)
	1880	Pneumatic tire (1888) Motorcycle (1885) Linotype (1884)
Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871)	1870	Phonograph (1877) Telephone (1876) Submarine (1875)
American Civil War (1861-1865)	1860	Typewriter (1868) Dynamite 1866) Atlantic Cable (1866)

Chart developed by Mrs. JoAnn Larson, Ichabod Crane Middle School, Valatie, NY.

HANDOUT C-2.1

IMPLICATIONS
Raul Hilberg

Before the emergence of the twentieth century and its technology, a destructive mind could not play in fantasy with the thoughts that the Nazis were to translate into action. The administrator of earlier centuries did not have the tools. He did not possess the network of communications; he did not dispose over rapid small arms fire and quick-working poison gases. The bureaucrat of tomorrow would not have these problems; already, he is better equipped than the German Nazis were. Killing is not as difficult as it used to be. The modern administrative apparatus has facilities for rapid, concerted movements and for efficient massive killings. These devices not only trap a large number of victims; they also require a greater degree of specialization, and with that division of labor the moral burden too is fragmented among the participants. The perpetrator can now kill his victims without touching them, without hearing them, without seeing them. He may feel sure of his success and safe from its repercussions. This ever growing capacity for destruction cannot be arrested anywhere....

Taken from: Raul Hilberg. *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973), p. 760. Copyright (c) 1961 by Raul Hilberg. By permission of the author and his agents, Raines and Raines.

THE ANATOMY OF THE HOLOCAUST
Raul Hilberg

...It was wartime, and transport itself was a problem. Movement to killing centers took place by railroad for the most part, occasionally over long distances, as in the case of deportations from southern France or southern Greece. For the Transport Ministry, the movement of the Jews was a financial as well as an operational matter. In principle, each passenger transport had to be paid for. Jews were "travelers" and the Gestapo paid the railroads one-way fare (third class) for each deportee, half price for each transport of more than four hundred. The railroads were accommodating that way. The Gestapo on its part attempted to collect the necessary funds from the Jewish communities themselves. Although such "self-financing" took place in contravention of normal budgetary procedure, the Finance Ministry acquiesced in the practice.

The operational problem was even more complex. For each death transport, central and regional railway offices had to assign scarce rolling stock and time on tracks. Yet these transports seldom had a priority rating. A classification would have identified them for what they were. Instead they were being dispatched whenever possible. The timetables, written for each of them, placed them behind and ahead of regularly scheduled trains. Thus it was that with the intensification of the war, and even after the climax of Stalingrad, the Germans were pursuing ever more relentlessly and ever more drastically the one operation they were bound and determined to finish. They were going to solve the Jewish problem in Europe once and for all.

Taken from: Raul Hilberg. "The Anatomy of the Holocaust". In *The Holocaust: Ideology, Bureaucracy, and Genocide. The San Jose Papers*. Edited by Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton. Millwood, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1980. Reproduced with permission.

HANDOUT C-2.2

MASS DEATH AND CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

Richard Rubenstein

No century in human history can match the twentieth in the sheer number of human beings slaughtered as a direct consequence of the political activity of the great states. One estimate of the humanly inflicted deaths of the twentieth century places the total at about one hundred million.[9] As fewer men have fallen prey to such natural ills as the plague and epidemic, the technology of human violence has taken up much of the slack. Those whom nature did not kill before their time were often slain by their fellowmen.

Twentieth-century mass slaughter began in earnest with World War I. About 6,000 people were killed every day for over 1,500 days.[10] The total was around ten million. World War I was the first truly modern war of the century. The civilian societies of both the Allied and the Central powers were organized in such a way that millions of ordinary people were withdrawn from their normal occupations, supplied with weapons of unprecedented destructiveness and dispatched to the battle fronts. Without the systematic organization of both population and industry, it would have been impossible to wage the kind of mass war that was fought....

In modern warfare, there is no knightly comradeship. The objective is often to deprive the enemy of his basic instrument of violence, his army. In essence, that is what General von Falkenhayn, the German commander, attempted at the Battle of Verdun. Von Falkenhayn's strategy was biological. His objective at Verdun was to exterminate as many of the enemy as possible.[11] This was a giant step towards the death camps of World War II. For the first time in memory a European nation had attempted to alter the biological rather than the military and political balance of power with an adversary. It did not occur to Von Falkenhayn that he could not slaughter the French without suffering the loss of a comparable number of his own men. The tragic story of Verdun is well known. About five hundred thousand men died on each side in a nine-month battle that ended with the battle lines more or less in the same place at the end as at the beginning. Apparently, the German military and civilian authorities did not consider so great a human sacrifice too high a price to pay for victory. It is somewhat easier to understand the resolve of the French to take their losses. They were convinced that their national existence was at stake. No similar danger threatened the Germans. They were the attackers. They were, of course, determined to win the war no matter what the cost....

The mass death that took place in the West during World War I was prelude to the carnage that took place in the Russian sphere as a result of revolution, civil war, demographic violence, and large-scale famine. Exact figures are unavailable but an estimated two to three million died as a result of hard violence and six to eight million as a result of long-term privation. According to Gil Eliot, the foundations of twentieth-century military slaughter on a mass scale were laid during World War I; the foundations of mass civilian slaughter were laid immediately thereafter, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, the very area in which the Jews were to perish during the Second World War.[17] Nor ought we neglect to mention the Turkish massacre of about one million Armenians during World War I, perhaps the first full-fledged attempt by a modern state to practice disciplined, methodically organized genocide.[18] The list of victims of twentieth-century mass slaughter also includes those who perished in the Sino-Japanese War and the Spanish Civil War; the millions who were killed in the various Stalinist purges, as well as those who died in the man-made famines which resulted from Stalin's slaughter of peasants who resisted collectivization between 1929 and 1933; the Russian and Polish prisoners of war exterminated by the Germans; the Russian prisoners of war who escaped death at the hands of the Germans only to be murdered when they returned home; those who perished at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the victims of the wars and revolutions of South-

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Taken from: Richard L. Rubenstein. *The Cunning of History: Mass Death and the American Future* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 7-8; 11-12. (c) 1975 Richard L. Rubenstein. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

[9] Gil Eliot, *Twentieth Century Book of the Dead* (New York: Scribner, 1972), pp. 211-34.

[10] Ibid, pp. 23, 218; see also *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: 1962), s.v. "World War I."

[11] For an account of Verdun, see Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun, 1916* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 36. Of particular interest is a memorandum by von Falkenhayn to the Kaiser written in December 1915 in which von Falkenhayn argues for a strategy by which "the forces of France will bleed to death." For a bitter account of the slaughter by a German soldier, see William Hermanns, *The Holocaust: From a Survivor of Verdun* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 1. Young Germans marched off to war singing. *"Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen, sterben als ein tapferer Held"* (Victoriously we will crush France and die as brave heroes).

[17] Eliot, *Twentieth Century*, p. 29.

[18] For an informed discussion of the Turkish slaughter of the Armenians as a distinctively modern exercise in mass violence, see Michael Arlen, "Passage to Arafat," *New Yorker*, February 3, 10, 17, 1975. Part 3 (February 17) is especially relevant.

Handout C-2.2 (cont.)

east Asia."[19] The list is by no means complete. It is, however, sufficient to place the Holocaust within the context of the phenomenon of twentieth-century mass death. Never before have human beings been so expendable. Perhaps the spirit of the twentieth century has seldom been expressed as well as by Maxim Gorky's tale of the peasant who confessed that he had killed another peasant and stolen his cow during the Russian Revolution. The murderer was greatly worried that he might be prosecuted for theft. When asked whether he was afraid that he might also be prosecuted for murder, the peasant replied: "That is nothing; people now come cheaply."[20]

[19] Eliot, *Twentieth Century*, pp. 211 ff.
[20] Maxim Gorky, *The Russian Peasant* (in Russian, Berlin: 1922), cited by Adam Ulam, *Lenin and the Bolsheviks: The Intellectual and Political History of the Triumph of Communism in Russia* (London: Fontana, 1969), p. 589.

D. Case Study: The Armenians

Statement of Purpose:

Few historians dispute the fact that hundreds of thousands of Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire were killed or died during the deportations of 1915 to 1916. However, historical interpretations of the motivations for the deportations and massacres differ. Different historians characterize the specific events from their own frames of reference. Some call what occurred a genocide against the Armenian people. Others refer to the events as massacres, deportations, or use other similar terms.

This section of the guide presents descriptions of the deportations and massacres as imparted by Armenian survivors, United States diplomats, and available Turkish and Armenian archival documents. The purpose of this section is not to enter into the continuing debate over whether the events of the Ottomon Empire during World War I constituted what we now call a genocide. Rather, the materials will help students to investigate the circumstances surrounding the deportations and massacres of Armenians. As they study about these events, students will begin to formulate their own definitions for the concept of genocide as well as to make connections between its racial, religious, and technological components.

Objectives:

- Students will locate and describe the area of historic Armenia in the Ottoman Empire;
- Students will prepare a description of Ottoman life during the late 19th and early 20th centuries with a focus on groups such as Christian Armenians and Muslim Turks;
- Students will discuss the factors which contributed to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and to the rise of Armenian calls for autonomy;
- Students will analyze the background, eyewitness accounts, government reports and historical interpretations about the Armenian deportations and massacres of Christians and Muslims during World War I.

Learning Activities and Student Materials:

- Have students examine a map of the world (1914) and the historical maps of the Ottoman Empire and Armenia included in Handout D-1. Have students:
  - Locate the Ottoman Empire on a map of the world in 1914
  - Locate historic Armenian lands
  - Trace the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire
  - Locate the following cities in the Ottoman Empire:

    Istanbul (Constantinople) Aleppo
    Smyrna Van
  - Locate Russia
  - What do you suppose the relationship was between Russia and the Ottoman government?
  - What do you suppose the relationship was between the Armenians and the Ottomans? Between the Armenians and the Russians?
  - During the late 19th century, why did Armenian relations with the Ottoman Empire worsen?
- Using encyclopedias and other current resources, students should complete an independent research report on Armenia and the Armenians. Student reports should include information on the origins of historic Armenian lands, Armenian life on the Anatolian Plateau, and ways in which the Armenians developed as a distinct ethnic group within the Ottoman Empire (religion, language, culture). Students might begin their report by outlining the information included in Handout D-2.
- The Armenians formed a minority within the heterogeneous population of the Ottoman Empire. Have students examine Handout D-3.1 and D-3.2 and then consider the following questions:
  - How did the millet system separate the Armenians from the mainstream of Muslim society?
  - What economic role did the Armenians play within the Ottoman Empire?
  - To what extent did Armenian nationalistic aspirations conflict with emerging Turkish nationalism?

HANDOUT D-1.1

Historic Armenia and Surrounding Lands

Taken from: Richard G. Hovannisian. *The Armenian Image in History and Literature* (University of California, Los Angeles, 1981). Used by permission of Richard G. Hovannisian.

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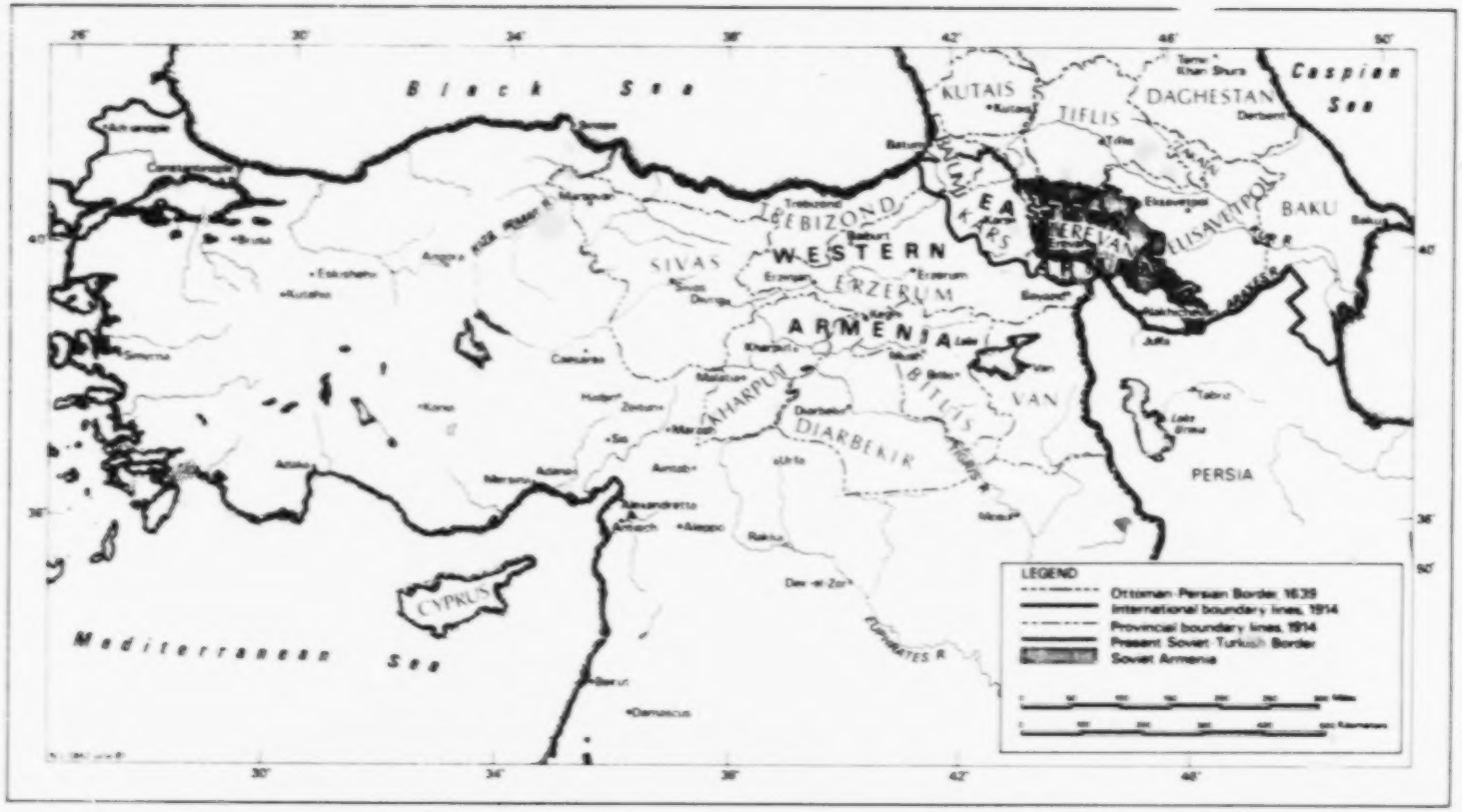
HANDOUT D-1.2



The Armenian Homelands in Modern and Contemporary Times

Taken from: Richard G. Hovannisian. *The Armenian Image in History and Literature* (University of California, Los Angeles, 1981). Used by permission of Richard G. Hovannisian.

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HANDOUT D-2

THE ARMENIAN IMAGE IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE
INTRODUCTION

Richard G. Hovannisian

For readers unfamiliar with Armenian history, it should be explained that the formation of the Armenian people was completed in the first millennium B.C. Armenia emerged on the great plateau bounded by the Karabagh highlands in the east, the Pontus Mountains in the north, the Taurus Mountains in the south, and the Euphrates River in the west (see maps). Armenian kingdoms existed in that region for some 1,500 years, albeit the political boundaries shifted significantly from one period to another, at times extending beyond the plateau and more often contracting behind the natural frontiers. Whatever the political fortunes, however, an indigenous Armenian population inhabited this homeland continuously until the genocide beginning in 1915.

Armenia's strategic, economic, and military importance has made it a coveted possession since ancient times. First partitioned in the fourth century A.D. during the waning years of the Arshakuni/Arsacid dynasty (first-fifth centuries), the country's eastern section became known as Persarmenia or Persian Armenia, as distinguished from the western sector which came under Roman supervision. Following two hundred years of Arab hegemony in greater Armenia (seventh-ninth centuries), the Bagratuni/Bagratid dynasty (ninth-eleventh centuries) attempted to reunify the country under Armenian rule, but the centrifugal forces and external interference remained too strong for lasting success. During the Turkic and Mongol invasions (eleventh-thirteenth centuries), thousands of Armenians escaped to Cilicia, near the Mediterranean Sea, where they first clustered under local Armenian princes owing allegiance to Byzantine emperors and then lived under their own Rubenid, Hetumid, and Lusignan sovereigns in this expatriate realm known as the Kingdom of Little Armenia. Even after the fall of the Cilician kingdom in the late fourteenth century, a large number of Armenians remained in the region, which eventually was divided between the Ottoman provinces (vilayets) of Adana and Aleppo.

The Armenian plateau to the east was itself partitioned between the Ottoman and Persian empires in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The smaller Persian Armenian region was in turn annexed by the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. Hence, in this article, the term "Russian" or "Eastern Armenia" refers to the regions around Erevan which were ultimately incorporated into the Romanov realm, whereas the broader term "Russian" or "Eastern Armenia" refers to all Armenians living in the Russian Empire. Most of the Armenian plateau fell within the Ottoman Empire and in the latter part of the nineteenth century made up of six eastern vilayets. This region is referred to as "Turkish" or "Western Armenians," whereas all Armenian subjects of the sultans, regardless of geographic location, are identified as "Turkish" or "Western Armenians." Nearly all Western Armenians were massacred or driven from their homeland by the Turkish rulers between 1915 and 1923. The survivors and their progeny make up most of the Armenian dispersion today. Of the historic lands of Armenia, national life continues only in Eastern Armenia, where an independent Armenian republic was formed in 1918 until Soviet rule was established in 1920-1921. The population of the small Soviet Armenian republic now exceeds three million, yet, with the loss of the Western Armenian territories, more than half the Armenian world population remains in the diaspora.

Taken from: Richard G. Hovannisian. "The Armenian Image in History and Literature," University of California, Los Angeles. G.E. Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, 1981. Used by permission of Richard G. Hovannisian.

HANDOUT D-3.1

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN TURKEY

Bernard Lewis

The two words used in Turkish for fatherland and nation were **vatan** and **millet**, and it is instructive to examine their semantic development. **Vatan** is a Turcicized form of **watan**, a classical Arabic word meaning place of birth or residence. A man's **vatan** might be a country, a province, a town, or a village, according to context. In this sense a **vatan** could inspire sentiment and loyalty, and these find frequent expression in classical literature but the word had no more political significance than the English word home.

In the course of the nineteenth century the overtones of the French word **patrie** began to affect the Islamic word **vatan**. As early as the 1790s, Ali Efendi, the Turkish ambassador to the **Directoire**, in describing French arrangements for the care of disabled soldiers, speaks of men who had suffered 'in the cause of the Republic and out of zeal for their **vatan**.' This was a new notion for Ali Efendi's time, and it is likely for he was not a perceptive man that he or his interpreter was merely translating literally from an original he did not understand. But by 1841 Handjeri's Turkish-French dictionary includes the equation **vatan = patrie,** together with new derivatives for patriot and patriotism, and examples of their use, in Turkish and French, which are purely Western in inspiration. By the mid-century **vatan,** in the political sense of fatherland, was in common use in the Turkish press, and in 1866 there was even a newspaper called **Ayine-i Vatan** (the Mirror of the Fatherland).

The word **millet**, from the Arabic **milla** and perhaps ultimately of Aramaic origin, occurs in the Koran with the meaning of religion. It was later extended to mean religious community, especially the community of Islam. In the Ottoman Empire it came to be applied to the organized and legally recognized religious communities, such as the Greek Christians, the Armenian Christians, and the Jews, and by extension also to the different 'nations' of the Franks. Even as applied to the Frankish nations the term was at first understood as having a primarily religious sense. Thus, the English were recognized in the sixteenth century as the 'Lutheran nation,' and non-English Protestants were regarded as being under their protection. In the Empire, there was a Muslim **millet**, but no Turkish or Arab or Kurdish **millets**; there were Greek and Armenian and Jewish **millets**, but as religious communities, not as ethnic nations. Until the late nineteenth century, Greeks and Slavs alike formed part of the Greek Orthodox **millet**, while on the other hand Gregorian and Catholic Armenians formed separate **millets**. It is not until a comparatively late date that one encounters the idea of national entities transcending religious distinctions. Even then the idea is still recognizably alien, with dubious rights of domicile.

. . .

With the visible decline of Ottoman power and the rise of European influence in the nineteenth century, there was a catastrophic change for the worse in the position of the Ottoman non-Muslims. The material relationship between Muslim and Christian had changed beyond recognition. Even the theoretical basis of association was gone. The old, mutually accepted relationship between Muslims and **Zimmis**, conferring a definite and agreed status and rights on the latter, had been undermined and destroyed by new ideas and new ambitions. Liberal principles required the Turks to give the subject peoples full equality of rights in the state; national principles entitled these peoples to rebel against it, and set up independent states of their own; Christian and Imperial principles enabled the powers of Europe to intervene on their behalf, supporting their claims both to citizenship and to secession. In these circumstances, suspicion, fear, hatred and sometimes, we may add, the high example of Western intolerance transformed the Turkish attitude to the subject peoples. Turkish weakness and uncertainty, in the face of foreign invasion and internal rebellion, often led to terrible oppression and brutality.

Most tragic was the case of the Armenians, who at the beginning of the nineteenth century were still known as the **Millet-i Sadika**, the loyal community, and were described by a well-informed French visitor as the minority group most loyal to the Ottoman Empire and most trusted by the Turks. The change began with the Russian conquest of the Caucasus in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and the creation of a Russian Armenia on the eastern border of Turkey, where the Armenian Church was established and recognized and where Armenian governors and generals ruled provinces and commanded armies. A stir of hope passed through Turkish Armenia, where, combining with the new national and liberal ideas emanating from the West, it gave rise to an ardent and active Armenian nationalist movement, seeking to restore an independent Armenia.

Taken from: Bernard Lewis. The Emergence of Modern Turkey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 328-329; 349-350. By permission of Oxford University Press.

HANDOUT D-3.2

CHRISTIANS AND JEWS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Bernard Lewis

. . .Tragically for the Armenians, their hopes for national independence represented the severest threat to emerging Turkish nationalism. The Ottoman Turks could lose Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Albania, and even the Arab lands and still have a territorially viable national state. To a much greater degree than all the other Christian peoples, the Armenians were integrated with the Muslim population. Their misfortune was that in the past centuries they had got along well enough with Kurds, Turks, and other Muslims to inhabit the same towns and villages. No compact minority begging partition, they shared much of eastern and southern Anatolia with their Muslim neighbors. For the Turks to have lost the lands which the Armenians inhabited territory stretching from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean would have aborted Turkey. With the outbreak of World War I a terrible struggle between Turks and Armenians began. It ended with a disaster. In 1915, according to some observers, between one million and one and a half million Armenians perished. Once again the tragic themes of Armenian history were repeated.

- The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire throughout the 19th century and the surge of nationalism among many subject groups including the Armenians played a significant role in the course of events which ultimately lead to the deportations and massacres of Armenians from 1915 to 1916.

Taken from: Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, editors. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982), Volume I, pp. 23-24. Used by permission of Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.

Have students consider Handout D-4 in which a German scholar analyzes the worsening situation which led to the events of 1915-1916. Ask students the following questions:

- What conditions in the Ottoman Empire resulted in Armenian discontent?
- What reforms did the Armenians seek?
- How did the policies of the "Hunchaks" and the "Dashnaks" differ?
- Why might the Ottoman government view the Ottoman Armenians as a threat?
- How did the outbreak of World War I affect the Armenians?

HANDOUT D-4

THE ARMENIAN PERSECUTIONS

Ulrich Trumpener

After the successful struggle of the various Balkan peoples for independence during the preceding hundred years, the largest Christian national group left in the Ottoman empire in 1914 were the Armenians, most of whom lived in the eastern portions of Anatolia.[1] After submitting for centuries to legal discrimination, harassment, and misgovernment - which earned them the designation of the "loyal community" (millet-i Sadika) by their Turkish overlords – many Ottoman Armenians had become increasingly restive and nationalistic in the course of the 19th century. Since their requests for efficient and fair government, evenhanded justice, and local autonomy were repeatedly ignored by the Porte*; and since the diplomatic efforts of the European powers on their behalf produced little more than paper reforms, some elements of the Armenian community turned to "nonlegal" and violent methods to throw off the Turkish yoke. After the 1860s a number of revolutionary societies and parties sprang up, and by the early nineties the radicalization of the Armenian revolutionary movement found outward expression in the emergence of the Hunchakian Party and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation or Dashnaktsuthiun. While the "Hunchaks" aimed for the creation of an independent Armenian state, the "Dashnaks" advocated radical political and social reforms within the framework of the Ottoman empire. Both groups hoped to attract energetic European support for the Armenian cause, but it was a hope that proved illusory.[2] When the mid-1890s Sultan Abdulhamid II responded to mounting Armenian agitation by ordering, or condoning, the massacre of thousands of Armenians in Constantinople and elsewhere in the empire, the European powers restricted themselves to largely ineffectual diplomatic protests and the protection of some Armenian conspirators.[3]

The overthrow of Abdulhamid's despotic regime and the formal resurrection of a constitutional form of government by the Young Turks in 1908 was initially greeted by many Ottoman Armenians as the dawn of a new era, but their hopes were quickly quashed. Though some Armenian groups were eager to collaborate with the new regime the Young Turks soon made it clear that they had no intention of granting the non-Turkish communities in the empire the political equality which they desired.[4] In 1909 thousands of Armenians were massacred by Moslem mobs in the so-called Cilician Vespers. Even though the central government in Constantinople was perhaps not directly involved in this new outrage, many Armenians did not trust the Young Turks thereafter.[5]

During the next few years the Porte officially improved the legal status of the Armenians and extended to them all the duties and privileges of military service, but in many provinces the traditional forms of harassment and sporadic acts of violence (especially by the Kurds) against the Armenian population continued virtually as before. After prolonged negotiations the Porte in February 1914 agreed in a treaty with Russia to institute yet another round of "reforms" in the Armenian provinces, but the two European inspectors-general who were to watch over the implementation of these reforms had just arrived when World War I broke out, and before the year was over the Porte unceremoniously sent them home.[6]

Although the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople and various other spokesmen publicly announced at the beginning of the war that the Armenians in the Ottoman empire would loyally support the government, it seems fairly clear that many Ottoman Armenians disapproved of the Porte's interventionist course or actually hoped for an Entente victory over the Turks.[7] Contrary to the assertions of many writers there is also considerable evidence that some Armenians in

[1] Counting Roman Catholics and Protestants as well as the Gregorian majority, there were an estimated 1.8 to 2.1 million Armenians in the Ottoman empire by 1914.

* Porte means government of the Ottoman Empire.

Taken from: Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918*. Copyright (c) 1968 by Princeton University Press. Excerpt, pp. 200-03, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

[2] Cf. A.O. Sarkissian, *History of the Armenian Question to 1885* (Urbana, Ill., 1938); Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963); and Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, 1963) and passim.

[3] On the shifting policies of the European powers on the "Armenian Question" in the latter half of the 19th century cf. Pasdermadjian, pp. 320-412, passim; William L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902*, rec. edn. (New York, 1951), Chapters v, vii, x; and A. O. Sarkissian, "Concert Diplomacy and the Armenians, 1890- 1897," in Studies in *Diplomatic History and Historiography in Honour of G. P. Gooch*, A. O. Sarkissian, ed. (London, 1961), pp. 48-75.

[4] Cf. Pasdermadjian, pp. 438-41; Lewis, pp. 206-15; Ernest E. Ramsaur, Jr., *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of 1908* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 65-66, 70-75, 124-29; and Sarkis Atamian, *The Armenian Community* (New York, 1955), pp. 156-77.

[5] Cf. Andre Mandelstam, *Le sort de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1917), pp. 203-206; Simon Vratzian, *Armenia and the Armenian Question* (Boston, 1943), pp. 22-23; Atamian, pp. 174-75, 178, note 20; Lewis, p. 212.

[6] Mandelstam, pp. 30, 33, 50, 206-48; Pasdermadjian, pp. 440-44; Roderic H. Davison, "The Armenian Crisis, 1912- 1914," AHR, 53 (1948), pp. 481-505; Lepsius, Deutschland Nos. 9, 15.

[7] For widely differing appraisals of the attitude of the Ottoman Armenians toward the war and their own government, cf. Vratzian, pp. 25-27; Atamian, pp. 185-89; Pasdermadjian, pp. 452, 456-60; Emin, pp. 214-15; Tunaya, p. 397; Bayur, III:3, 12-20 and passim; Altemur Kilic, *Turkey and the World* (Washington, DC, 1959), pp. 17-18; William Yale, *The Near East* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1958), pp. 230-31; and Lenczowski, p. 48.

Handout D-4 (cont.)

the Ottoman empire engaged in subversion and espionage or deserted to the Russians.[8] On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the large majority of Ottoman Armenians were in no way involved in any overtly disloyal activities, and the contention of many Turkish authors that the Armenian districts behind the Turkish front in Transcaucasia were teeming with sedition is obviously wrong. Several German officers who were stationed in that area during the opening months of the war agree in their accounts that until April 1915 the Armenian districts were essentially quiet.[9]

- Next have students examine Handout D-5 which is a military order by Enver and consider this question:
  - Why did the Ottomans believe that the arrest, detention and deportation of members of the Hinchak and Dashnak were justified?

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[8] Cf. Lewis Einstein, *Inside Constantinople* (London, 1917), pp. 163-64; Morgenthau, pp. 294-95; Pominakowski, p. 159; Lepsius, *Deutschland*, Nos. 11, 17-22, 24-26, 31.

[9] See, for example, Guse, pp. 27, 61-63, and passim; and the report of Gen. Posseldt, fortress commandant in Erzurum until April 1915, in Lepsius, Deutschland, No. 31. Cf. Bayur, III:3, 2-9, passim, for a representative sample of the Turkish point of view.

DOCUMENT NO: 25

Office of the Acting Supreme Commander
of the Ottoman Army

Istanbul
26 April 1915
(13 April 1331)

First Section
No:
Top Secret

To the Office of the Undersecretary
of the Ministry of National Defence

Since the Government has decided that the branches of Hinchak, Dashnak, and similar committees both in the capital and provinces will be closed down immediately; that the documents and papers at these branches will be confiscated without being destroyed; that the presidents of these committees, their leaders, active members known by the Government as well as influential and malicious Armenians will be arrested immediately; that those whose stay in their places of residence is regarded harmful will be made to stay in more suitable places and measures taken to prevent their escape; that searches for weapons will be conducted in suspicious places; that the suspect will be brought before courts martial; cooperation with administrative officials and civil servants as well as immediate response to their calls for help are hereby demanded as a priority.

Acting Supreme Commander
Enver

This order has been conveyed to the:

First Army Command
Second Army Command
Third Army Command
Fourth Army Command
Fifth Army Command
Deputy Command of Iraq and Environs
Fourth Army Corps Command
Bosphorus Command
Dardanelles Command
Headquarters in Istanbul
Deputy 12 th Army Corps Command in Mousoul
Office of the Undersecretary of the Ministry of National Defence
Army Department

Taken from: *Document*, Vol. I. Prime Ministry Directorate General of Press and Information. Ankara, 1982, p. 67.

- The Armenians were deported from the plateau region beginning in the spring of 1915. The reasons for the deportation, the number of Armenians involved and the treatment of those deported are discussed in the following materials. Have students carefully examine the readings in Handout D-6. (Handouts, D-6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5.)

  – How does Morgenthau's account of the deportations differ from the Ottoman government documents? Why do you think the accounts differ?
  What role did technology play in the Armenian deportations and massacres? Explain.

Have students examine Handout D-6.5.

– Why were men and women separated? (See also D-6.1.)
– Who actually went on the deportation marches?
– What happened to many Armenian soldiers and men even before the deportation?
– How were the Armenians dehumanized by the deportation process?

Handout D-6.1

THE MURDER OF A NATION

Henry Morgenthau

In the early part of 1915, the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army were reduced to a new status. Up to that time most of them had been combatants, but now they were all stripped of their arms and transformed into workmen. Instead of serving their country as artillerymen and cavalrymen, these former soldiers now discovered that they had been transformed into road labourers and pack animals. Army supplies of all kinds were loaded on their backs, and, stumbling under the burdens and driven by the whips and bayonets of the Turks, they were forced to drag their weary bodies into the mountains of the Caucasus. Sometimes they would have to plough their way, burdened in this fashion, almost waist high through snow. They had to spend practically all their time in the open, sleeping on the bare ground – whenever the ceaseless prodding of their taskmasters gave them an occasional opportunity to sleep. They were given only scraps of food; if they fell sick they were left where they had dropped, their Turkish oppressors perhaps stopping long enough to rob them of all their possessions – even of their clothes. If any stragglers succeeded in reaching their destinations, they were not infrequently massacred. In many instances Armenian soldiers were disposed of in even more summary fashion, for it now became almost the general practice to shoot them in cold blood. In almost all cases the procedure was the same. Here and there squads of 50 or 100 men would be taken, bound together in groups of four, and then marched out to a secluded spot a short distance from the village. Suddenly the sound of rifle shots would fill the air, and the Turkish soldiers who had acted as the escort would suddenly return to camp. Those sent to bury the bodies would find them almost invariably stark naked, for, as usual, the Turks had stolen all their clothes. In cases that came to my attention, the murderers had added a refinement to their victims' sufferings by compelling them to dig their graves before being shot. . . .

In some cases the refugees were given a few hours, in exceptional instances a few days, to dispose of their property and household effects. But the proceeding, of course, amounted simply to robbery. They would sell only to Turks, and since both buyers and sellers knew that they had only a day or two to market the accumulations of a lifetime, the prices obtained represented a small fraction of their value. Sewing machines would bring one or two dollars – a cow would go for a dollar, a houseful of furniture would be sold for a pittance. In many cases Armenians were prohibited from selling or Turks from buying even at these ridiculous prices; under pretense that the Government intended to sell their effects to pay the creditors whom they would inevitably leave behind, their household furniture would be placed in stores or heaped up in public places, where it was usually pillaged by Turkish men and women. The government officials would also inform the Armenians that, since their deportation was only temporary, the intention being to bring them back after the war was over, they would not be permitted to sell their houses. Scarcely had the former possessors left the village, when Mohammedan mohadjirs – immigrants from other parts of Turkey – would be moved into the Armenian quarters. Similarly all their valuables, money, rings, watches, and jewelry – would be taken to the police stations for "safe keeping," pending their return, and then parcelled out among the Turks.

Thus in a short time practically everybody, young and old, was compelled to travel on foot. The gendarmes whom the Government had sent, supposedly to protect the exiles, in a very few hours became their tormentors. They followed their charges with fixed bayonets, prodding any one who showed any tendency to slacken the pace. Those who attempted to stop for rest, or who fell exhausted on the road, were compelled, with the utmost brutality, to rejoin the moving throng. They even prodded pregnant women with bayonets; if one, as frequently happened, gave birth along the road, she was imme-

Taken from: Henry Morgenthau. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York: New Age Publishers, 1919), pp. 302-303; 310-311; 315. Used by permission.

diately forced to get up and rejoin the marchers. The whole course of the journey became a perpetual struggle with the Moslem inhabitants. Detachments of gendarmes would go ahead, notifying the Kurdish tribes that their victims were approaching, and Turkish peasants were also informed that their long-waited opportunity had arrived. The Government even opened the prisons and set free the convicts, on the understanding that they should behave like good Moslems to the approaching Armenians. Thus every caravan had a continuous battle for existence with several classes of enemies – their accompanying gendarmes, the Turkish peasants and villagers, the Kurdish tribes and bands of Chetes or brigands. And we must always keep in mind that the men who might have defended these wayfarers had nearly all been killed or forced into the army as workmen, and that the exiles themselves had been systematically deprived of all weapons before the journey began.

DOCUMENT NO: 1916 (112)

SUBLIME PORTE

Ministry of Interior

Department for Settlement of
Tribes and Immigrants

General :

Special :

REGULATION RELATED TO SETTLEMENT AND BOARD AND LODGING AND OTHER AFFAIRS OF ARMENIANS RELOCATED TO OTHER PLACES BECAUSE OF WAR CONDITIONS AND EMERGENCY POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS:

Article 1 :– Arrangements for transportation of those to be transferred is the responsibility of local administrations.

Article 2 :– Armenians to be transferred are free to take all their movable properties and animals along.

Article 3 : – Protection of lives and properties of Armenians to be transferred en route their new settlements, their board and lodging and their rest is the responsibility of local administrations en route. Civil servants in all echelons are responsible for any negligence in this regard.

Article 4 :– Reaching the destinations of their new settlement, Armenians will either be settled in individual towns and villages in houses to be built, or in the villages to be established in locations designated by the Government. Due attention will be paid to establishing the villages in places which suit public health conditions, agriculture and construction.

Article 5 :– If there is no unowned and derelict land in places of settlement for establishment of villages, state owned farms and villages may be allocated for this purpose.

Article 6 :– Boundaries of villages and towns to be established anew for the settlement of Armenians will be at least 25 kilometres away from the Baghdad railroad and from other railroad links.

Article 7 :– A Registration log will be established covering very accurately in an orderly way the name, family name, age, profession,

Taken from: *Documents on Ottoman-Armenians, Vol. II*, Prime Ministry, Directorate General of Press and Information, Ankara, 1983, pp. 91-92.

place of origin, place of settlement, together with names and ages off all members clearly indicated for all Armenians to be settled in villages and towns or in newly established villages, this log, being the basis of the population registers.

Article 8 :– Persons to be settled at the designated places, are prohibited to go to other places without permission from the Commission to which they are attached and without necessary special document from the local security force.

Article 9 :– All boarding needs of the people arriving, and the construction of houses of those who are in need, is the responsibility of the Government, such expenses to be financed from the immigrants' appropriations (funds).

Article 10 :– Arrangements of boarding and housing, expediting the completion of these, preservation of health and welfare of the people, is the responsibility of the immigrant commissions, led by the highest local civil servant. In places where there are no immigrant commissions, these will be established anew, in accordance with the Regulation on Immigrants.

Article 11 :– District and provincial governors are authorised to assign sufficient civil servants necessary to carry out efficiently the task related to transport, board, lodging and settlement, with the concurrence of the Ministry.

Article 12 : – Each family to be re-settled, will be allocated appropriate land, taking into account their previous economic condition and their present needs.

Article 13:– Allocation and distribution of land will be handley by the commissions

Article 14:– Boundaries and areas of the allocated land will be indicated in a Temporary (Provisional) Receipt which will be issued to the owner, with identical information clearly registered in the special book.

Article 15 :– Those engaged in agriculture and craftsmen who are in need, will be issued an appropriate amount of operating capital, or necessary tools and instruments. Recep 333/17 May 331 (30 May 1915)

Certified True copy.
Seal (Department for Settlement
of Tribes and Immigrants, Ministry of
Interior)

120

DOCUMENT NO: 28

The Regulations Concerning the Management of the Land and Properties Belonging to Armenians who Have Been Sent Elsewhere As a Result of the State of War and the Extraordinary Political Situation

Article 1 – The management of the land and properties belonging to Armenians who had been moved elsewhere, will be carried out in compliance with these regulations by specially formed commissions and assigned officials whose authorities are indicated in the following articles.

Article 2 – Following the evacuation of a village or district, all buildings with furniture and other objects belonging to the Armenians who have been sent elsewhere will immediately sealed by the special council or a civil servant appointed by the administrative commission, and taken under protection.

Article 3 – The type, amount, value, and the name of the owners of the goods taken under protection will be registered in a detailed way. Later on, these goods will be sent to convenient storage places such as churches, schools, and houses. Care will be taken to catalogue the goods under the names of their owners. Furthermore, the type and amount of goods, the name of their owners, where they are found and protected will be included in registration records, the original copy of which will be preserved at the local government and a ratified copy at the Commission for Abandoned Properties.

Article 4 – The movables whose owners are unknown, will be registered in the name of the villages where they are found and they will be preserved in the name of the village.

Article 5 – Of movable goods, the ones that can become spoiled and the animals will be sold at an auction by a council to be appointed by the Commission. The money received as a result of the sale will be preserved in the name of the owner. If the name of the owner is not known, the money will be delivered to the financial office for preservation at the village or district trust where the sold property belongs. A document showing the type, amount, value and the owner's name of the auctioned goods will be prepared and registered in a special book, and the bottom of the document will be ratified by the council conducting the auction. Furthermore, an explanatory record will be arranged, the original copy of which will be preserved at the local government and a ratified copy at the Commission for Abandoned Properties.

Taken from: *Documents, Vol I.* Prime Ministry, Directorate General of Press and Information, Ankara, 1982, pp. 76-80.

Article 6 – Care will be taken to preserve the goods, pictures and holy books found at the churches in their original places after they are registered and listed. Later on, the local governments will send these belongings to the places where the population is resettled.

Article 7 – The type, quantity or number and value of goods and land deserted by the population will be registered in a book and the lists of abandoned properties and land will be drawn up for every village and district and they will be delivered to the administrative commission.

Article 8 – In the case of a crop to be harvested from an abandoned field, it will be sold at an auction by a council consisting of members appointed by the commission. The money received as a result of the sale will be preserved at the financial office in the name of the previous owner. A recond will be prepared and its original copy will be preserved at the local government and a ratified copy given to the administrative commission.

Article 9 – If no-one wishes to buy the crop, it can be sold to anyone by underbidding provided that the payment is made immediately. The money received from such sales or lease will also be delivered to the financial office in the name of the original owner.

Article 10 – Representation documents for using the movable and immovable properties of the population who had been moved elsewhere are not valid if they are drawn up after the departure of the original owner.

Article 11 – Migrants will be resettled in evacuated villages and the existing houses and the land will be distributed to the migrants through temporary documents by taking into consideration the capacity of work and demands of the migrant families.

Article 12 – The places of origin, settlement date, and resettlement places of the migrants will be registered in detail on the basis of their birth registers and by the houses they move into. Furthermore, the houses as well as the type, amount, and value of the land given to them will separately be registered and the migrants will be given a document showing the quantity of land and property given to them.

Article 13 – Since the migrants resettled in villages are responsible for protecting and preserving the houses and the fruit trees, in the case of damage, the villagers will collectively pay for the loss no matter who is responsible. Those who repeat damaging things will be moved away from the village and their rights as a migrant will cease to exist.

Article 14 – Following the resettlement of the migrants, the nomads will be resettled in the remaining villages in the region and the procedures related to the resettlement of the nomads will be similar to those applied for the migrants.

Article 15 – Care will be taken to resettle the migrants from urban areas to the evacuated houses in the towns and districts and they will be given enough land in line with their financial and economic situation in the past as well as their productive power.

Article 16 – Income providing buildings such as shops, inns, factories, and depots as well as the ones which are not suitable for the resetlement of the migrants and the ones remaining vacant following the resettlement of all the migrants and the properties and land falling outside the scope of activities and expertise of the migrants as laid down in Article 18 may be offerred for sale by the administrative commission or councils consisting of local administrative and financial officials under the supervision of the commission.

Article 17 – A book showing the type, quantity and value of the land distributed to the migrants as well as their names will be kept as a basis for identity registration.

Article 18 – Vineyards, orchards, olive groves and similar places in towns and villages may be distributed to those migrants in line with their needs and success. However, they must prove that they have the necessary experience, knowledge and energy and they must make immediate payments for these places. After the quantity of land and property distributed as well as the names of the new owners are registered in a special book, the migrants enjoying this right will be given a document explaining the situation. The land which is not distributed to the migrants will be sold by public auction as indicated in Article 16.

Article 19 – With the exception of the migrants sent from other provinces with a special warrant upon orders from the Ministry of Interior or with the permission and approval of local governments in the provinces, those who arrive in evacuated villages and districts as migrants and demand resettlement by submitting petitions, must produce official documents proving that they are migrants, that they have not been sent to any other place or resettled elesewhere, or that they had to migrate and were sent to these places by a special order.

Article 20 – The land property that no-one wants to buy, may be leased for a max-imum period of two years provided that the tenant assumes

responsibility for the protection and maintenance and compensation of any sort of damages and pays a pledge.

Article 21 – Detailed lists will be prepared in order to show the type, quantity, place, rent, and the names of the tenants or new owners of both the sold or leased property and land by underbidding.

Article 22 – The sum received as a result of the sale will be trusted to the financial offices in the name of the original owners and it will be paid to the owner according to the information to be given later.

Article 23 – The Administrative Commissions for Abandoned Properties are responsible for the conduct of the administration of all the abandoned properties in evacuated villages and districts in line with the articles of this regulations.

Article 24 – Regarding the administration of the abandoned properties, administrative commissions will be directly dependent on the Ministry of Interior and they must act within the confines of the orders issued by the Ministry of Interior. The commissions must also inform the local governments about their decisions and practices.

Article 25 – The applicable decrees of the regulations are subject to permission from the Ministry of Interior regarding the formation of the councils and commissions which would administer and protect the abandoned properties. It is up to the administrative commissions for abandoned properties to appoint civil servants on salary with permission from the Ministry of Interior and to issue directives within the framework of these regulations. Copies of the directives thus issued will be given to the provincial governments.

Article 26 – Even thought the commissions and officers for migrants are assigned the task of sending migrants for resettlement in evacuated places, speeding up and arranging the process of resettlement at such places, supervising the resettlement activities in general, as well as making decisions in agreement with local governments and implementing them are among the tasks of and they fall within the scope of the authorities of the commissions for abandoned properties.

Article 27 – The commission is obliged to briefly inform the ministry and the provincial government about its researches, final views, and activities every 15 days.

Article 28 – The administration of the properties by the administra-

tive commissions for abandoned properties will be conducted within the framework of the decrees of these regulations and the local civil servants will be responsible for correspondence.

Article 29 – The members of the administrative commissions for abandoned properties are collectively responsible for the administration and protection of such properties and land in the region as well as for the financial procedures.

Article 30 – The administrative commissions for abandoned properties consist of a specially assigned chairman and two members, one from the financial and the other from the administrative offices.

Article 31 – Communications and correspondence are conducted by the chairman himself or by in the name of the chairman a member elected by the chairman.

Article 32 – If he deems it necessary, the chairman of the commission for abandoned properties can assign one of the members to search for, supervise, or conduct anything included in these regulations.

Article 33 – The chairman of the commission of abandoned properties receives one and a half liras and members one lira each per day from the allocation for the migrants. They can also receive provision for journey when travelling in the line of duty.

Article 34 – The local governments are entitled to put the decrees of these regulations into practice in the provinces for which no commission is assigned or sent.

Archive No : 1/2
Cabin No : 109
Drawer No : 4
File No : 361
Section No : 1445
Contents No : 1–3

28 May 1331

DOCUMENT NO: 1918 (114)

From: Erzurum
3.5.331 (16 July 1915)

TO THE THIRD ARMY COMMAND ERZURUM

The contingent assigned to protect Armenian convoys against attacks by Kurdish gangs was attacked by Kurdish gangs from all four directions on their way through the Kop mountains on 28.4.331 (11 July 1915). The contingent, dispatched from Bayburt under the command of 2nd Lt. Salih Efendi comprised 56 enlisted men from the communications zone troops. After a two-hour armed clash, two of the gang were killed, the rest escaped. The contingent suffered no casualties and the Armenian convoy was saved, according to the information from Bayburt post.

Communications Inspector
Fuat Ziya

Section : 1/3731/4 (17) dated
File./ 4.5.31 (17 July 1915)

Archive No : 4/3671
Cabin No : 161
Drawer No : 2
File No : 2835
Section No : 127
Index No : 1–11

Taken from: *Documents on Ottoman-Armenians, Vol. II.* Prime Ministry, Directorate General of Press and Information, Ankara, 1983, p. 97.

DOCUMENT NO: 1921 (117)

OTTOMAN ARMY
ACTING SUPREME COMMAND

Section Directorate
No: 5998

CODED MESSAGE RECIEVED BY THE ACTING SUPREME COMMAND FROM ERZURUM

Orders and instructions were issued not to give way to insults or humiliation of Armenians being transferred to inner regions and for strict protection of their properties and goods. The same orders are reiterated 17/18 July 1331 (30/31 July 1915)

Third Army Commander
Mahmut Kamil

Seal

(Acting Supreme Command
Documentary Section)

6569

Archive No : 1/2
Cabin No : 109
Drawer No : 4
File No : 361
Section No : 1445
Index No : 3–3

Section 2/18 (31) dated

Section : 2/13715
18 July 1331 (31 July 1915)

Taken from: *Documents on Ottoman-Armenians, Vol. II.* Prime Ministry, Directorate General of Press and Information, Ankara, 1983, p. 103.

HANDOUT D-6.5

NEITHER TO LAUGH NOR TO WEEP

Abraham Hartunian

The following eyewitness account describes the Ottoman massacres and the deportations.

For the last time I entered my tent, I took my umbrella, some clothes in a bag, some bread, a water jug, and a thin quilt. I left my cot and a number of cooking utensils and tools. I put my Bible in my bag too and, after saying a prayer, was ready for the slaughterers to come and take me. A monster-like *zaptiye* appeared before me and said, "Are you Papza Abraham?"

"Yes," I answered.

"Walk!" he commanded.

I obeyed. I had begun the road of death, the road of horror. Tears rolled down my cheeks, but my lips were softly murmuring, "Though my God slay me, yet will I trust in him." As I advanced I saw many gendarmes, searching every corner to drive out hiding Armenians. One of these snatched my umbrella from my hand. The Armenian had lost every right! Everything now belonged to the Turk. This was the first step of deportation, and I was walking under the scorching sun. But at least I was a man. What were the mothers to do? Mothers who had been deported from other places already! Mothers who had lost their husbands and sons! Mothers who had small ones with them! Should they bewail the loss of their loved ones? Their darlings were hungry and thirsty. Should they think of their need? They were unable to walk. How could they bear their children on their shoulders and arms? My good God! Thou shouldst not have allowed it!

I soon reached the concentration camp, where twelve thousand Armenians had been herded – hungry, thirsty, naked, dirty, exhausted, already near death.

It is fear and trembling that prevail everywhere. Gendarmes, like bloodthirsty wolves, circle the convoy unceasingly. Whose burden shall I bear? Mine? My loved ones'? My nation's? What shall the girls and widows do women who have already lost their fathers, husbands, brothers? And now to sate the lust of Turkish beasts and then to be mercilessly killed! Many of these women are cutting their hair, smearing mud on their faces in order to appear ugly and detestable and thus evade the lustful eye of the Turk.

Under the guard of about fifty wolfish, merciless, savage *zaptiye*, the convoy moved. This was the first time in my life that I was traveling on foot, a burden on my back. But I was perhaps the most fortunate man in this group. I was strong, still young. I did not have the care of wife and children, at least for the present. I had only myself to carry along. What could the mothers do? Mothers with one, two, three children! I saw mothers with bags on their backs full of dry bread, a child at the breast, holding the hand of another child, walking along. Slowly? Resting now and then? Ah, that would have been well. But it was not so. They had to walk unceasingly and fast because the whip was ready at any moment to slash whatever part of their body it met.

Those who became exhausted and fell were left where they dropped. No one was allowed to stop and help them. Either they remained there to be tortured for days by hunger, thirst, cold, and then died, or else, if they were fortunate, they were killed immediately by the bullet or the dagger of a *zaptiye* or a passing basibozuk. . . .

We must walk. And we must walk quickly, quickly! Under the lashes of whips, beaten with the butts of rifles! We are walking. We are running! Panting! Gasping! We are running away from the lashing and the beating! But what should the old people do? The women? The weak? The children? The mothers holding their babes? They stumble, roll, are tramped under foot.

Hundreds were falling. The fallen were being shot or were left to their fate. And the convoy, without resting, its breath broken, its mouth burned, was walking and walking.

Some time later the horrid scene of hell was revealed before us! Corpses! Corpses! Murdered! Mutilated! Corpses of Armenian men, women, and children! Stepping over them like ghosts of the dead, we walked and walked. There was no need of taking us to Der-el-Zor and massacring us there! Armenians were being massacred on the way between Baghtche and Marash. To see the scene of Der-el-Zor, it was not necessary to go to the desert! The perfect counterpart was here. Here were the bodies of those driven out before us and shot, stabbed, savagely slaughtered! I had heard what deportation was. I had imagined it. Now I saw it with my own eyes.

Taken from: *Neither to Laugh nor to Weep, A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* by Abraham H. Hartunian, Beacon Press, Boston 1968, pages 85-94, translated from the Armenian by Vartan Hartunian. Used by permission of Vartan Hartunian.

- When the Armenian deportations and massacres are considered, demographic figures used by scholars range from 600,000 to 1,500,000 or more Armenian deaths. Have students speculate as to the reasons why figures differ. Students should consider the reliability and accuracy of existing Ottoman and Armenian statistics and the conditions which existed in Anatolia at the time.

  Have students read Handout D-7 and consider the following questions:

  – Why does the author say: "The numbers used by demographers are of limited use in describing war."?
  – What does this historian say happened to the Armenian and Muslim populations of Anatolia during the 1912-1922 period?
  – What does McCarthy say regarding the forced migrations of Muslims and Armenians during the period from 1912 to 1922?

HANDOUT D-7

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ARMENIANS?

Justin McCarthy

To understand the end of the Armenian presence in Anatolia one must remember that the Armenian disaster came in time of war – World War I and the Turkish War of Independence. The numbers used by demographers are of limited use in describing war. They will not tell us who fired the first shot, not label those responsible for the bloodshed. They only count the dead. Yet much can be learned from the numbers of the dead. We now know from reliable statistics that slightly less than 600,000 Anatolian Armenians died in the wars of 1912-22, not 1.5 or 2 million, as is often claimed. Not that 600,000 is a small number. The Armenians suffered a terrible mortality. But when considering the numbers of dead Armenians, one must also consider the numbers of dead Muslims. The statistics tell us that 2.5 million Anatolian Muslims died as well, most of them Turks. In the Six Vilayets, the Armenians homeland, more than one million Muslims died. These Muslims, no less than the Armenians, suffered a terrible mortality.

The numbers do not tell us the exact manner of death of the citizens of Anatolia. Civil War, forced migration of both Muslims and Armenians, intercommunal warfare, disease, and, especially, starvation are listed in the documents of the time as causes of death. The Anatolian mortality was not simply the deaths of soldiers in wartime, but deaths of men, women, and children, Armenian and Muslim, who were caught up in international war between Russians and Ottomans and intercommunal war between Armenians and Muslims. We know from both documentary evidence and statistics that intercommunal warfare between Christians and Muslims was a major cause of death. The province of Sivas, for example, was not in the war zone; the Russian army never reached that far. Yet 180,000 of the Muslims of Sivas died. The same was true of the rest of Anatolia. In the end, statistics of mortality show that Armenians suffered greatly, but not that they suffered alone. The statistics indicate that the years 1912-1922 were a horrible time for humanity, not simply for Armenians.

Taken from: Justin McCarthy. "Anatolian Armenians" delivered at the 1983 General Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, pp. 11-12. Used by permission of Justin McCarthy.

- Have students examine Handout D-8 "Diplomatic Responses" and then consider the following questions:
  - What did the diplomatic community believe regarding the deportations and massacres of Armenians?
  - How well informed was the diplomatic community of both sides? What was the source of their information?
  - Why might the position of Ambassador Johann Bernstorff (German ambassador to the United States) differ from that of United States Secretary of State Lansing?
  - Why might the Germans have supported the Ottoman actions?
  - What did the German diplomatic community believe was happening to the Armenians inside the Ottoman Empire?
  - Why didn't the Germans help the Armenians?
  - Why do diplomatic pronouncements often *not* convey what the individuals involved actually believe?
  - Why did the German Government protest the Ottoman deportations and treatment of the Armenians? Could the German Government have done more? Why or why not?

HANDOUT D-8

DIPLOMATIC RESPONSES

The documents which follow deal with the diplomatic efforts made by the United States and other governments on behalf of the Armenians in the period between 1904 and 1917.

US Diplomatic Correspondence during 1915 relating to the Treatment of Armenians.
1915 US Foreign Relations, Suppl., at 981-90.

US Ambassador in France (Sharp) to US Secretary of State (Bryan), Paris, 28 May 1915

Foreign Office note just received transmits a communication requesting that it be notified urgently to Ottoman Government as follows:

> "For about a month the Kurd and Turkish population of Armenia has been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place in middle April (new style) at Erzerum, Dertchun, Eguine, Van, Bitlis, Mush, Sassun, Zeitun, and throughout Cilicia. Inhabitants of about one hundred villages near Van were all murdered. In that city Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds. At the same time in Constantinople Ottoman Government ill-treats inoffensive Armenian population. In view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible for these crimes all members of the Ottoman Government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres."

US Ambassador in Turkey (Morgenthau) to US Secretary of State (Lansing), Constantinople, 10 July 1915

Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempt to uproot peaceful Armenian populations and through arbitrary arrests, terrible tortures, wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage, and murder, turning into massacre, to bring destruction and destitution on them. These measures are not in response to popular or fanatical demand, but are purely arbitrary and directed from Constantinople in the name of military necessity, often in districts where no military operations are likely to take place. . . .

The only embassy here which might assist in lessening these atrocities is the German, but I believe it will simply content itself with giving advice and a formal protest probably intended for record and to cover itself from future responsibility. German Ambassador is about to leave on a six weeks' vacation. Have impressed on him that he and his Government will have considerable share in the odium. Immediately upon arrival of his substitute I shall make herculean efforts to enlist his sympathies. Austrian Ambassador has promised me to try to influence Minister of the Interior.

. . .

I have repeatedly spoken to the Grand Vizier and pleaded earnestly with Minister of the Interior and Minister of War to stop this persecution. My arguments were unavailing except as to Constantinople. . . .

I have conferred with various American missionaries now here from Tajmarsovan (Marsovan?), Beirut, Bardizag, and Constantinople, and all agree that the present crisis is worse than 1895 and 1896 massacres, but none of them could suggest any further steps than those I have already taken. They fear that the matter will have to run its course. Turkish authorities have definitely informed me that I have no right to interfere with their internal affairs. Still I desire to ask whether you have any suggestions.

US Ambassador in Turkey (Morgenthau) to US Secretary of State (Lansing), Constantinople, 11 August 1915

Turkish anti-Armenian activities continue unabated. Reports, of which you will receive copies, are constantly received from our consuls and others, of horrors to which large numbers of innocent and helpless people of this race are being subjected. Armenian population is fast being swept from the Ada Bazar and Izmid. Bardizag, some 50 miles from Constantinople, has been lately threatened, but the Minister of State has granted two weeks' delay, and unless something can be done to arrest this atrocious campaign, these people also will be forced from their homes and herded like cattle into the arid and hostile wastes of the interior, where the greater number, possibly excepting those who in desperation embrace Mohammedanism, will doubtless perish by murder or slow starvation. Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister of the Interior have promised me permission for Armenians in Constantinople to leave the country on agreement never to return. Minister of the Interior says that he realizes no Armenians can remain friendly to Turkish Government after present treatment and hints at drastic measures against all in Constantinople if the slightest offense is committed against

Taken from: Louis B. Sohn and Thomas Buergenthal. *International Protection of Human Rights*. Copyright 1973 by the Bobbs-Merrill Company. Reprinted by permission.

Government. In view of the ease with which pretexts are created in this country, these statements cause me uneasiness. The German and Austrian Ambassadors have promised me to exert their influence, but I doubt the efficacy of their representations unless they are specifically instructed by their Governments to insist on the cessation of the acts now being perpetrated and the taking of strong protective measures for the thousands already on the way to their doom. . . .

I earnestly beg the Department to give this matter urgent and exhaustive consideration with a view to reaching a conclusion which may possibly have the effect of checking this Government and certainly provide opportunity for efficient relief which now is not permitted. It is difficult for me to restrain myself from doing something to stop this attempt to exterminate a race, but I realize that I am here as Ambassador and must abide by the principles of non-interference with the internal affairs of another country.... Unless you should deem this such an exceptional state of affairs, the Department will direct me to register an unequivocal protest on behalf of our Government. I offer for serious consideration the following suggestions in the hope that they may be of assistance in reaching a conclusion in the matter which is at once urgent and delicate and further complicated by our representation of so many other foreign interests:

(1) That the United States Government on behalf of humanity urgently request the Turkish Government to cease at once the present campaign and to permit the survivors to return to their homes if not in the war zones, or else to receive proper treatment;
(2) That if our present relations permit, an official appeal be made to the Emperor of Germany to insist on Turkey, his ally, stopping this annihilation of a Christian race;
(3) That a vigorous official demand be made without delay for the granting of every facility to Americans and others to visit and render pecuniary and other assistance they may desire to Armenians already affected by Government deportation.

I believe the third suggestion might prove the most acceptable under the circumstances and that a strong and unyielding stand in this matter of our right to advance immediate aid to these helpless people will in itself imply our protesting attitude. The advance of such assistance might be the means of saving thousands during this period of the war tension, after which the situation may assume more hopeful proportions.

German Ambassador to US (Bernstorff)
to US Secretary of State (Lansing),
Cedarhurst, NY, 8 October 1915

I have the honor to enclose for your confidential information a copy of a memorandum handed to the Imperial Ottoman Government by the acting Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople on August 9 about the expulsion of the Armenians.

The Imperial Ottoman Government has informed the German Government that it will take the measures necessary to prevent the repetition of excesses.

Enclosure – Translation

The German Embassy in Turkey to the
Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MEMORANDUM

By its memorandum of July 4, the German Embassy had the honor to acquaint the Sublime Porte with the views of the Imperial German Government concerning the banishment of the Armenian inhabitants of the Anatolian provinces and to draw its attention to the fact that the measures had been attended in several places by acts of violence such as massacres and plundering which the end sought by the Ottoman Imperial Government could not justify.

The German Embassy regrets to state that it appears from information received subsequently from impartial and trustworthy sources that incidents of that character, instead of being prevented by the local authorities, have regularly occurred upon the expulsion of Armenians, so that most of them perished even before reaching their destination. These are reported mainly from the provinces of Trebizond, Diarbekr and Erzerum. In some places, at Mardin for instance, all the Christians without distinction of race or faith have had the same fate.

At the same time the Ottoman Imperial Government saw fit to extend the banishment order to the other provinces of Asia Minor, and quite recently the Armenian villages of the Izmid district were emptied of their inhabitants under like conditions.

In the presence of those events the German Embassy, by order of its Government, is constrained to remonstrate once more upon those horrible deeds and to decline any responsibility for the consequences they may involve. It finds itself under the necessity of drawing the attention of the Ottoman Government to that point all the more as public opinion is already to believe that Germany as a friendly power allied to Turkey may have approved or even instigated those acts of violence.

US Diplomatic Correspondence During 1916
Relating to the Treatment of Armenians
1916 US Foreign Relations, Suppl., at 847-57.

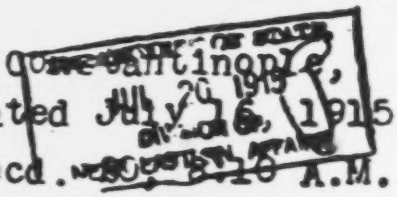
US Secretary of State (Lansing)
to German Ambassador to US (Bernstorff),
Washington, 16 February 1916.

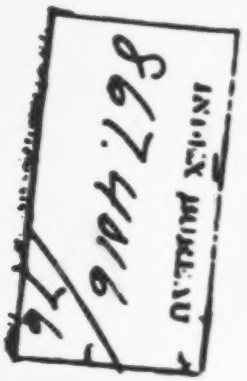
Referring to your unofficial note of October 8, 1915, enclosing a copy of a memorandum handed to the Imperial Ottoman Government by the acting Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople on August 9, 1915, protesting against the expulsion of the Armenians, I have the honor to inform you that the United States Government has received and is still receiving information giving detailed accounts of the continued sufferings which have accompanied and resulted from the systematic expulsion of the Armenians from their homes and from the other mistreatment which they have suffered. The information has come largely from private but reliable sources and from individuals of many different nationalities, and indicates that the promise, which you state in your note of October 8, the Ottoman Government had made to the effect that it would take the measures necessary to prevent the repetition of excesses against the Armenians, has not been fulfilled. Being greatly in doubt as to whether I am longer justified in keeping from the American people the terrible facts in my possession, I have instructed the American Charge d'Affaires at Constantinople again earnestly to appeal to the sense of justice and to the humanity of the Ottoman Government, and to urge it to take prompt action to redress the injuries which have been inflicted upon the Armenians and to adopt measures to ameliorate the condition of the surviving Armenians in the future. My decision as to what, if any, statement on the subject of the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks, should be made to the American people, will depend very largely upon the action which the Ottoman Government takes upon the new appeal made in behalf of the Armenians by the American Charge d'Affaires.

As your note of October 8, 1915, to the Department, and the note of the acting Imperial German Ambassador at Constantinople, both indicate that the German Government shares with the Government of the United States its indignation at the conduct pursued by the Ottoman Government against the Armenians and its desire to secure an amelioration of the existing conditions, I have thought it proper to communicate to you at this time the substance of the instruction which has been cabled to the American Charge d'Affaires at Constantinople, in the hope that the German Government may see fit to exercise once more its influence with the Ottoman Government in the effort now being made to put an end to the Armenian tragedy.

WSB TELEGRAM RECEIVED. GREEN CIPHER

From Constantinople,
Dated July 16, 1915,
Recd. 8:10 A.M.





Secretary of State,
Washington.

858, July 16, 1 p m.

~~Confidential.~~ Have you received my 841? Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.

Protests as well as threats are unavailing and probably incite the Ottoman government to more drastic measures as they are determined to disclaim responsibility for their absolute disregard of capitulations and I believe nothing short of actual force which obviously United States are not in a position to exert would adequately meet the situation. I suggest you inform belligerent nations and mission boards of this.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,
Constantinople

Handout D-8 (cont.)

Deciphered by